

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 079 775

CS 500 339

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TITLE Ghosts in the Statehouse: A Study of the
Speechwriting Operations of Ghostwriters in Florida's
State Capitol.
PUB DATE Aug 70
NOTE 139p.; M.A. Thesis, Florida State University
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$6.58
DESCRIPTORS Attitudes; Authors; *Communication (Thought
Transfer); *Persuasive Discourse; *Politics; Public
Speaking; *Speeches; State Officials
IDENTIFIERS Florida; *Ghostwriting

ABSTRACT

Interviews were conducted with each of the nine speech ghostwriters for Florida's seven statewide elected officials (including the governor) to determine the writer's methods of operation, his background and the extent of his preparation for the position. All of the ghostwriters defended their job as ethical, with the justification that ghostwriting is a necessary, mechanical function of modern government. The results of this study indicate that universities should establish courses in the principles and practices of ghostwriting, designed to attract the prospective ghostwriter. Such an addition to the present speech curriculum could provide a new route into the profession of ghostwriting, by-passing the present "average" route through the profession of journalism.
(EE)

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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
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GHOSTS IN THE STATEHOUSE:
A STUDY OF THE SPEECHWRITING OPERATIONS
OF GHOSTWRITERS IN FLORIDA'S STATE CAPITOL

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By
DOUGLAS PERRET STARR

A Thesis submitted to
the Department of Speech
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Approved:

Professor Directing Thesis

August, 1970

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am sincerely grateful for the help and guidance provided by Dr. Gregg Phifer, my major professor, in the preparation of this thesis. Others on my committee who offered welcome suggestions and valuable criticism were Dr. Wayne C. Minnick, Dr. Theodore Clevenger, Jr., and Dr. Thomas R. King.

But most of all, I thank my wife, Miss Millie, not only for her splendid typing and cheerful attitude, but also for her understanding and encouragement, without which none of this would have been possible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Ghostwriting, or logography, the business of writing speeches for another, has its roots deep in antiquity, dating back as far as fifth century B.C. Greece.¹ In those days, citizens appearing before the law-courts were required to plead their own cases; but they were not always able to prepare their own speeches. Thus, the situation created a need for speechwriters, and the business of ghostwriting was born.

Even though needed and lucrative, the business of logography in classical Greece was not entirely a happy one. Academicians of the day would not admit the logographer to their ranks, holding that ghostwriters were more interested in personal triumph than in the triumph of truth and justice.²

Isocrates (436-333 B.C.), one of the Canon of Ten Orators, made a good living as a logographer early

¹George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 128-129.

²Ibid., p. 177.

in his career. Later, having become famous as a teacher and writer-orator, he denounced the profession.³ In one of his most famous speech essays, "Against the Sophists," Isocrates attacked the ghostwriter as either stupid, because he made extravagant promises that he could not fulfill, or unscrupulous, because he neglected all the good things in the law suits and picked out the most discredited of terms.⁴

Denunciation of ghostwriting as a profession has filtered down through the ages. Dr. Marie Hochmuth Nichols, professor of speech at the University of Illinois, wrote in 1963 that the student of public address "can hardly find a redeeming feature in the matter of ghost writing."⁵ She reasoned that no rhetorical critic could assess the character or style of a speaker, or evaluate his language habits, when the speech was prepared by another.⁶

Review of Previous Literature

Despite its antiquity, the business of writing for another has been studied only sparsely. Remarkably little can be found in the speech journals on ghostwriting, and

³Ibid., p. 145.

⁴Isocrates, trans. by George Norlin, II (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929), pp. 169, 175.

⁵Marie Hochmuth Nichols, Rhetoric and Criticism (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 47-48.

⁶Ibid., p. 45.

most of what is found restricts itself generally to lamenting the existence of the ghost because of the difficulties he causes rhetorical critics.

In 1965, Dr. Dwight L. Freshley, associate professor of speech at the University of Georgia, conducted a unique study.⁷ He sought to describe the speech writers of governors of the United States in terms of age, sex, educational level, length of acquaintance with the governor, academic major and minor, academic courses of value, professional background, methods of speech writing, criteria for evaluating a speech, and factors influencing their present theory of speech-making. After receiving forty-two replies from thirty-nine states, he summarized that the "average" 1964 governor's ghostwriter was a 35-year-old male who was or was not a native of the state in which he worked, but had lived there twenty-seven years, and knew the governor four years. He had a college degree in journalism, English, or government, and believed that English courses were of the greatest value to him in speech writing. He received two to six weeks' notice on a speech which he wrote, after securing research information on the topic from various sources, and revised it after a conference with the governor. He believed that content, language, response, and forceful delivery were the most

⁷Dwight L. Freshley, "Gubernatorial Ghost Writers," Southern Speech Journal, XXXI (Winter, 1965), pp. 95-105.

important ingredients of a truly effective speech. Finally, he believed that listening to or reading speeches was the most influential factor in his present theory of speech writing.

Dr. W. Norwood Brigance, former head of the department of speech at Wabash College, called indirectly for a thorough study of ghostwriting in 1965 when he wrote that "little is known of the operating practice of this profession, and that little is too often kept out of print."⁸

Dr. Nichols called for a searching study of the profession when she wrote:

Perhaps one good thing may eventually come. Some alert student of public address will take upon himself the responsibility of doing a searching study of ghost writing in America. I hope that may be one bright spot in what otherwise appears to be absolute darkness.⁹

In general, rhetorical criticism of ghostwriting has been anything but laudatory. Ernest R. May, an historian writing in 1963, called ghostwriting a conspiracy against history.¹⁰ Although he referred specifically to

⁸W. Norwood Brigance, "Ghostwriting Before Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Radio," Today's Speech, IV (September, 1956), pp. 10-12.

⁹Nichols, Rhetoric and Criticism, pp. 47-48.

¹⁰Ernest R. May, "Ghost Writing and History," The American Scholar, XXII (1952-1953), pp. 459-465.

the ghostwriting of books, denunciation of any facet of a profession usually extends to all of that profession.

Harry Gilroy, a staff writer for the New York Times Magazine and a former ghostwriter, implied in 1949 that the business of ghostwriting was so undesirable that the general public ought to eradicate it by rejecting candidates for political office who relied upon ghostwriters.¹¹ Robert Bendiner, a free-lance writer writing in the New York Times Magazine in 1952, quoted United States Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson as saying that ghostwriting "has debased the intellectual currency in circulation and is a type of counterfeiting which invites no defense."¹² Dr. Ernest G. Bormann, professor of speech at the University of Minnesota, wrote in 1956 that under the ghostwriter the level of rhetoric declined and "its function as a fundamental tool for the winnowing of ideas in a democracy is lost."¹³ Dr. Bormann also questioned the ethics of ghostwriting, declaring that "deception is inherent in the practice,"¹⁴

¹¹Harry Gilroy, "Survey of the Ghost Writers," New York Times Magazine, March 27, 1949, pp. 20, 60, 61, 63.

¹²Robert Bendiner, "Ghosts Behind the Speechmakers," New York Times Magazine, August 17, 1952, pp. 15, 36.

¹³Ernest G. Bormann, "Ghostwriting and the Rhetorical Critic," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVI (October, 1960), pp. 284-288.

¹⁴Ernest G. Bormann, "Ethics of Ghostwritten Speeches," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVII (October, 1961), pp. 262-267.

because the audience is made to believe that the speaker is "more honest, more intelligent, more likeable, and more informed than he really is."¹⁵

Generally, the business of ghostwriting is defended by saying (1) that it has existed for hundreds of years,¹⁶ (2) that it is necessary because the public official cannot perform the duties of his office if, to meet the many demands upon him for public speeches, he must, himself, prepare those speeches,¹⁷ (3) that it merely provides the public official his own ideas in his own style of speaking,¹⁸ and (4) that the speaker accepts the responsibility for the ideas expressed in the ghostwritten speech anyway.¹⁹

Dr. Robert F. Ray, former director of the Institute of Public Affairs at the State University of Iowa, defended ghostwriting in 1956 when he asked:

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶W. Norwood Brigance, "Ghostwriting Before Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Radio."

¹⁷Claude M. Feuss, "Ghosts in the White House," American Heritage, December, 1958, pp. 45-47, 97-99.

¹⁸Carroll C. Arnold, Douglas Ehninger, and John C. Gerber, The Speaker's Resource Book: An Anthology, Handbook and Glossary (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1966), p. 20.

¹⁹Thomas Benson, "Conversation with a Ghost," Today's Speech, XVI (November, 1968), pp. 71-81.

Why should a man be praised for being well-advised-- and yet be censured if he uses words prepared by a competent advisor for a campaign speech?²⁰

Dr. Robert T. Oliver, former head of the department of speech at Pennsylvania State University and 1964 president of the Speech Association of America, defended the practice of ghostwriting in 1963, writing that his own experience as a ghost indicated to him that "a 'ghost' is of no value whatsoever unless or until he attains the ability to say what his principal wants to say in ways he wants to say it."²¹ Seneca Johnson, pen name of ghostwriter J. A. Atkins, concluded in 1939 that ghostwriting is ethical when it misrepresents neither the role nor the function of the principal.²²

Despite, or maybe because of, damning attacks upon the profession, American University in Washington, D. C., instituted a college-credit course in ghostwriting in 1952. (After one year in operation, the course was discontinued.) Yet, some people remained dissatisfied. Eric Sevareid, Columbia Broadcasting System television commentator, had a comment, which Bendiner described in the New York Times Magazine as an indignant scoff: "Imagine [General Douglas]

²⁰Robert F. Ray, "Ghostwriting in Presidential Campaigns," Today's Speech, IV (September, 1956), pp. 13-15. (Also: Central States Speech Journal, VIII (Fall, 1956), pp. 8-11.)

²¹Arnold, Ehninger, and Gerber, Speaker's Resource Book, p. 20.

²²Seneca Johnson, "In Defense of Ghost Writing," Harper's Magazine, October, 1939, pp. 536-543.

MacArthur saying to an aide 'Fix me up a speech for Congress, something about old soldiers never dying.'"23

And, as if denunciation and a paucity of research were not enough, Walter J. Stelkovic, a graduate student at Pennsylvania State University, wrote in 1954 that the speech profession, in the main, ignored the existence of ghostwriting.²⁴

Governmental Ghostwriters

Despite being denounced and ignored, the profession of ghostwriting has become an integral part of government at all levels. Today's elected official, eager to keep his name and programs before the voting public, accepts invitations to deliver far more public speeches than he can prepare himself. Thus, once more the situation has created a need for ghostwriters; and, once more, enterprising and talented men and women fill that need. The public official today has a staff of ghostwriters who, although they may combine their speechwriting activities with other official duties, manage to supply their principals with a never-ending flow of rhetoric designed to present the officeholder and his programs in the best light and keep him moving toward his ultimate goal of re-election.

²³Bendiner, New York Times Magazine.

²⁴Walter J. Stelkovic, "Ghostwriting: Ancient and Honorable," Today's Speech, II (January, 1954), pp. 17-19.

In Florida, governmental ghostwriters are well educated, have good jobs, draw better-than-average salaries, drive good automobiles, wear good clothing, live in comfortable homes, and are on a first-name speaking basis with the state's business, industrial, and political leaders. Their wives are accepted socially, and their children have no more difficulties than do any other children. In general, today's governmental ghostwriter in Florida does not have the onus of defending his position to his neighbor.²⁵

The ghostwriters selected for this study are the eight men and one woman working for the seven elected men making up Florida's plural Executive Department, known as the Cabinet. These offices are those of the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Comptroller, the Treasurer, the Commissioner of Education, and the Commissioner of Agriculture. Each has one ghostwriter, except the Attorney General and the Comptroller who have two each. Although each of the nine ghostwriters has other official duties, his principal job is to prepare speeches.

In their ghostwriting duties, then, these nine do exert some influence over their employers, largely through the development of ideas and issues and the persuasive manner in which these ideas and issues are couched for presentation to the voting public. These nine also serve

²⁵Based upon the author's own experience as a Cabinet ghostwriter.

as advisors to their principals on how these ideas and issues will be accepted by the news media. As such, these ghostwriters are an integral part of the thinking and planning processes of their principals, who themselves are leaders of Florida government. These ghostwriters, then, are an integral part of the overall political and governmental system of Florida.

Need for the Present Study

In general, the study of rhetoric is the study of leaders, especially in a democracy where great value is placed upon critical thinking by every citizen.

Dr. A. Craig Baird, professor emeritus at the University of Iowa, wrote in 1956 that speechmakers have been the voices of history, "the instigators of changing attitudes and decisions."²⁶ Adolf Hitler, recognizing that speakers were men who made or changed history, wrote in Mein Kampf in 1925 that only the spoken word "is in a position to bring about really great changes."²⁷

Wayland Maxfield Parrish wrote in 1954 that the study of speeches is necessary because speeches not only have shaped the course of history, but they have helped

²⁶A. Craig Baird, American Public Addresses (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), p. 1.

²⁷Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939), p. 704.

define and strengthen a people's ideals and determine its culture.²⁸

Who, then, should study these speeches? Dr. Nichols wrote that the study ought to be made by the rhetorician because the rhetorician "is, in effect, or ought to be, a critic of society."²⁹

What of the speaker? Should he be studied? Certainly, wrote Dr. Nichols, "Unless the origin of thought is ascribed to its originator, accurate assessment of a speech from a rhetorical point of view is difficult, to say the least."³⁰

Should the speechwriter be studied? Apparently there is no question about this either. Dr. Bormann wrote that the rhetorical critic must have a "thorough understanding of the man who wrote the speech in order to criticize the speech" because a speech must be viewed as an interaction of the speaker with his environment.³¹ To which Dr. Nichols added, "One learns to understand a man through his writing and speaking, and accurate understanding and attribution are imperative and go hand in hand."³²

²⁸Wayland Maxfield Parrish and Marie Hochmuth [Nichols], eds., American Speeches (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), p. 2.

²⁹Nichols, Rhetoric and Criticism, p. 16.

³⁰Ibid., p. 43.

³¹Bormann, "Ghostwriting and the Rhetorical Critic."

³²Nichols, Rhetoric and Criticism, p. 41.

Dr. Ray wrote that to be able to judge the speaker, the speech critic must "know the character of those who assist in speech preparation and, to the extent possible, the degree of their influence in the speech-preparing process."³³

A study of ghostwriting certainly is in order, not merely because the leaders of the speech field have urged it, nor merely because sparcity of research into the profession leaves an inexcusable gap, but primarily because any study of speeches demands knowledge of those who assisted in the preparation of the speech, especially of the speech-writer.

Florida's Cabinet ghostwriters were chosen for this study for several reasons: (1) they were all concentrated within the state capital center, (2) they were all readily available and willing to be interviewed, (3) the author of this study has worked with most of them in their ghostwriting activities for as long as seven years, and, most importantly, (4) the high offices of their principals give the ghostwriters positions of potentially broad, indirect influence throughout the state.

Description of the Florida Cabinet

Florida's government is unique among the 50 states. Instead of a single executive--the governor--to make all or most of the decisions affecting the day-to-day operations

³³Ray, "Ghostwriting in Presidential Campaigns."

of government, Florida utilizes the combined talents of the governor and the six other state-wide elected officials as a board of directors operating under the democratic principle of majority rule.

The Cabinet meets weekly (10:00 a.m. on Tuesdays), taking up matters of government as presented by the directors of each state agency under Cabinet jurisdiction. The Cabinet officers study the requests and recommendations, discuss the issues, arrive at their decisions, and vote.

Thus, influences the ghostwriter may exert upon his principal are not restricted to vote-getting speeches, but indirectly extend to the day-to-day operations of Florida government through the participation of the individual Cabinet member.

Statement of Purpose

This thesis has the following purposes:

1. To describe demographically the ghostwriters of the Florida Executive Department, and to cite the personal preparation and training each believes to be of value in his own situation.
2. To study and describe the speechwriting practices of these ghostwriters.
3. To identify the criteria by which the ghostwriter's product is evaluated by him and by his employer.
4. To ask each ghostwriter to specify what changes, if any, he would recommend in the ghostwriting process,

whether and how universities (especially The Florida State University) can or should be of service to ghostwriters, and what academic courses, if any, he would recommend for ghostwriters or prospective ghostwriters.

5. To ask each ghostwriter to defend his profession ethically.

Methodology

1. I developed a questionnaire and an interview schedule, basic tools of the descriptive study, for use in this research. The questionnaire (Appendix A) was designed to elicit facts about each ghostwriter's personal background from which to draw conclusions about his preparation for his career as a ghostwriter. This questionnaire also enabled me to draw conclusions about the ghostwriter's attitude toward his profession. The interview schedule (Appendix B) was designed to elicit both facts and opinions about the ghostwriter's job, his recommendations for changes and improvements in the practice of ghostwriting, and his defense of the ethics of the profession.

2. Both of these instruments were pretested on a ghostwriter employed by a state agency outside the Cabinet: Elgin White, 48-year-old chief of education and information for the department of natural resources. After White completed the questionnaire and submitted to the interview, I studied his responses for information leading to conclusions about the two instruments and recommendations for

improvement. Both instruments were found to be serviceable and easily understandable.

3. Using these two instruments, I visited each of the nine Cabinet ghostwriters in his own office and secured his completed questionnaire and interviewed him.

4. Finally, I interviewed each of the seven Cabinet officers, asking the single question: "Why do you need a speechwriter?"

CHAPTER II

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

In addition to his duties as chairman of the Cabinet, the governor of Florida has specific constitutional duties to: enforce the laws of Florida, approve or disapprove legislative acts, report to the legislature on the condition of the government, recommend legislation, serve as commander-in-chief of the Florida National Guard, approve or disapprove requests for extradition, proclaim holidays, countersign all state warrants, and serve as official representative of the state.³⁴

The governor (1967-1971) is Claude R. Kirk, Jr., the only Republican on the Cabinet and the thirty-sixth governor in Florida history. His ghostwriter is Russell Stratton, a 34-year-old native of St. Petersburg whom he has known for four years. Stratton, married and the father of two sons aged five and three years, has the official title of press secretary, a job he has held slightly more than eighteen months. He supervises one assistant and five secretaries and clerk-typists.

³⁴Allen Morris, The Florida Handbook 1969-1970 (Tallahassee: Peninsular Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 26-27.

Stratton's Background

Stratton's military service consists of six years in the United States Marine Corps Reserve, in which he advanced to the noncommissioned rank of sergeant. He had no combat or overseas service.

He received his bachelor of science degree in business administration in 1959 from the University of Florida where he majored in real estate and insurance, and minored in literature. Of all the Cabinet ghostwriters, Stratton alone has no academic background in either journalism or government. Following graduation, he opened his own general insurance agency in St. Petersburg which he operated successfully for nine years until he joined the governor's staff. Unlike the other Cabinet ghostwriters, Stratton never worked as a news reporter.

Speechwriting Duties and Procedures

As press secretary to the governor, Stratton has the primary duty of preparing the dozen or so thirteen-to eighteen-minute speeches the governor delivers each month to various groups, ranging from official agencies of government to civic clubs. These speeches average 3,000 words. Stratton uses only one aid in the speechwriting process, a mimeographed form entitled "Engagement Acceptance and Arrangements Check List," which describes the speaking situation in some detail (Appendix C). Stratton usually completes this form himself, collecting the information by

telephone from the designated representative of the group to which the governor is to speak. This way, Stratton has an opportunity to discuss the speaking situation in advance with a member of the audience.

Stratton prefers to leave the research chores to his own staff or to others on the governor's staff, or to those in any agency under the governor's jurisdiction who are especially knowledgeable in the field to be covered in the speech. Regardless of who conducts the research, it is Stratton who produces the finished form of the speech for the governor.

Ideas for speech topics come from various sources: from the office files, from previous speeches, from the designated representative of the group requesting the talk, from other members of the governor's staff, and from the governor himself during conferences over scheduled speeches. "Usually," said Stratton, "we take a current idea and work it into a speech situation."

Oftentimes, however, it is the governor himself who suggests the main theme of the speech. This is done either during a meeting between the governor and Stratton, or during a meeting between the governor and his advisors.

The actual writing of the speech apparently comes easy to Stratton. He uses no outline, having in mind a general concept of what he wants to say. "I have a feel for the flow of the speech," he said. "I don't know about the formal structure." Apparently, he is quite successful

for the governor uses verbatim about eighty per cent of those speeches he likes, "and he likes most of them," Stratton added.

After studying the research information and the information on the audience, Stratton usually writes the speech in one or two drafts, directly on the typewriter, and in one sitting. Sometimes, however, a speech will prove difficult to capture, and Stratton will write as many as ten drafts before either he or the governor is satisfied. Stratton considers only major changes in the wording or the inclusion of substantial new facts to constitute a new draft. Minor editorial changes are considered merely part of the same draft.

Stratton incorporates as few statistics as possible in a speech, saying their boring effect upon the audience is "exceeded only by how much they bore the governor."

Although Stratton receives notification of a speech assignment from twenty-four hours to thirty days or more in advance, he usually writes the entire speech within forty-eight hours of the time of delivery. He waits until this close to the deadline to ensure that the speech contains timely information, information bearing directly upon the current news reports. Nevertheless, he did admit that the press of his other duties--including traveling with the governor, preparing news releases, arranging news conferences with news reporters, and administering his own office staff--make it difficult to do any speechwriting

much in advance of forty-eight hours before delivery.

After the final draft is completed, Stratton usually meets with the governor and other members of the governor's advisory staff and, together, go over the speech in some detail. This is mandatory in the case of a major address, particularly a major address to the legislature. During this review session, Stratton and other members of the governor's advisory staff suggest to the governor what points he should emphasize, and what points he should not emphasize, and explain whether the speech is to be directed primarily toward the immediate audience or through the news media to the broad audience of all Florida.

If the governor likes the speech, he will accept it. Although he follows about eighty per cent of the prepared text, Stratton said he "frequently departs from it, which only adds to the speech." What the governor adds usually is a combination of new information and information pertinent to the immediate audience but which was not available to Stratton at the time he wrote the speech.

Very seldom is a speech criticized after delivery. Stratton described the only critique made of a speech:

Occasionally, on the trip back, we will have an informal critique of the reception of the speech. Sometimes, one of the governor's staff criticizes the speech; and sometimes, the governor himself criticizes his own speech and delivery and its reception by the audience.

Once the governor criticized his ghostwriter during delivery of a speech. The Associated Press reported that the governor, addressing a conference on drug and alcohol abuse in Miami Beach, stumbled over the phrase "maturation arrest." "That means gets no older," the AP quoted the governor as saying. "I'm gonna fire the guy who put that in."³⁵ No one was fired, and those present interpreted the incident as humorous.

Stratton strives to adapt the ghostwritten speech to the governor's own style of speaking and phrasing, partly to avoid such incidents as that of the "maturation arrest" and partly to make delivery of the speech easier. "I don't use words or phrases he isn't comfortable with," he said. "I want to make the speech sound just like him."

Despite his efforts, Stratton believes the governor speaks better, more forcefully, without a prepared text before him. Why, then, should the governor need a ghostwriter? Stratton explained by saying,

The only purpose is to reflect on paper the governor's feelings. He doesn't have time to sit down and write all speeches he has to make and still conduct the business of his office. When he speaks informally [without a text], he sometimes loses sight of points he wants to make.

Because of the governor's ability to speak without a prepared text, Stratton believes style in delivery is

³⁵"Governor Stumbles over Gobbledygook," St. Petersburg Times, January 15, 1970, p. 1B.

as important as content. He reflected,

You have to remember that he's the governor. He probably could ad lib fifteen minutes of humor and the average audience would love it just as much as if he gave them a real stump-knocker. But we put a lot of meat in the governor's speeches. They're not dependent upon his ability to deliver alone.

Job Satisfaction

Stratton, who said he usually agrees with the policies of the governor, said he likes his job: "I like this particular job. I like the man as well as the job. Yes, this is a rewarding job for me."

Stratton became a ghostwriter by chance:

The job became open after the previous speechwriter resigned, and I fell into it. I had no special training for the work; but when the governor offered it to me, I accepted. Now that I have been in the job a while, I have learned that so much of ghostwriting involves a feel for the principal. It's not a thing you learn overnight. It takes time to develop.

Asked whether he considered himself a power behind the throne because of his position as an advisor to the governor, Stratton replied: "No. Anybody who admits that is a liar." But he did admit to trying to influence the governor's attitudes on various issues, explaining: "That's the job. If I think he's right or wrong, I tell him so."

Stratton views the profession of ghostwriting as an ethical business:

It is not valid to assume that one person can do all the work involved in making speeches. Speechwriting is a mechanical operation, a reflection of the principal's ideas and thoughts. It is no more than having a secretary take dictation. Speechwriting is an advanced form of that.

Stratton believes universities ought to be of service to ghostwriters. But he had no specific recommendations, largely because of the strongly personal and individualistic nature of the job of ghostwriting.

Summary

Russell Stratton, the only Cabinet ghostwriter who had no prior training or experience in news writing, seems to have taken to the job of speechwriting easily. Like his fellow ghostwriters with years of news writing education and experience, Stratton writes his speeches without an outline. Moreover, he writes nearly all of the dozen or so speeches the governor delivers monthly. Seldom is any criticism made of the delivery of the speech; and, when criticism is made, it is on an informal basis. Stratton uses one speech aid, a mimeographed form entitled "Engagement Acceptance and Arrangements Check List" (Appendix C), a form similar to those used by six of the nine ghostwriters. Stratton writes his speeches within forty-eight hours of delivery, directly on the typewriter, and usually in one sitting. Before the finished copy goes to the governor, Stratton usually rewrites it at least once, which is about as many drafts as the other ghostwriters prepare. Like the other ghostwriters, Stratton confers with his principal on the

finished copy, polishing it to the principal's style and word usage.

Although Stratton believes the governor speaks more forcefully without a prepared text, he acknowledges that the governor needs something in front of him as a guide to topics to be covered.

Stratton, who has an office of six employees to administer and such other duties as the preparation of news releases and travel with the governor, wants more help in the speechwriting portion of his job. He likes his job; he likes the governor; and he agrees with the governor's policies. He fell into his ghostwriting job without preparation or notice, filling in a vacancy. This seems to be the way most ghostwriters attain their jobs, almost as an afterthought.

In his speechwriting duties, Stratton is also an advisor to the governor, a position which gives him an opportunity to try to influence the governor's attitudes on issues through the presentation of facts and his own beliefs. Stratton considers this as part of his job as advisor.

Ghostwriting is an ethical business to Stratton, largely because he believes no one public officeholder can perform the duties of his office if he is forced to perform also all the tasks involved in making speeches. Although it sounds like a contradiction, Stratton compares the task of ghostwriting to that of a secretary's taking dictation.

What he means here is that regardless of where the governor's ideas originate, they remain the governor's ideas which are, in a manner of speaking, dictated to the ghostwriter for compiling into a speech.

Justification by Cabinet Officer

Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr., said:

Most public officials require the assistance of a speechwriter for a number of reasons, not the least of which, of course, is the element of time. On those days when I must make a number of unrelated addresses to completely diverse groups, it would be impossible for me to research the material and draft a suitable text for each separate occasion, except at the complete expense of my other duties. Consequently, it is usually necessary to confine my efforts at speechwriting to prespeech conferences for establishing the framework of major speeches, and then to final editing and late revisions; although on some occasions, as time permits, I am able to handwrite a complete draft.

CHAPTER III

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The secretary of state is the vice-chairman of the Cabinet, taking command in the absence of the governor. In addition, the secretary of state has constitutional duties to keep the statutes of the state, the resolutions of the legislature, and the official orders of the governor; to keep the official state seal; to charter corporations; to administer the election process and certify candidates; to record trademarks, cattle brands, and brand names; to license qualified business agents; to administer the laws on the arts and the museums; and to oversee the state library and the department of archives and history.³⁶

The secretary of state is Tom Adams, fifteenth man to hold the post, who first took office January 3, 1961, after having served four years as a state senator from Clay and Baker Counties. His ghostwriter is Ed McNeely, a 38-year-old native of Lakeland whom he has known for seven years. McNeely, married and the father of three sons aged sixteen, fourteen, and twelve years, has the official title of administrative assistant, a job he has held ever since he joined the staff. He supervises one secretary, one

³⁶Morris, Florida Handbook, pp. 31-34.

artist, and ten clerk-typists, the second largest staff under the administration of any of the Cabinet ghostwriters.

McNeely's Background

McNeely's military service consists of six years in the United States Marine Corps, including three years in combat during the Korean War and three years as a reservist. He was mustered out with the noncommissioned rank of staff sergeant.

He received his bachelor of science degree in 1959 from Florida Southern College where he majored in English and minored in social science and journalism. Although he studied no courses in speech, he found his studies of history, sociology, and psychology helpful in his ghost-writing duties.

McNeely worked as a news reporter for the Winter Haven News Chief in Bartow, where he was courthouse reporter; as chief of the Bartow news bureau of the Lakeland Ledger; and as a reporter in the Lakeland news bureau of the Tampa Tribune. He left the Tampa Tribune to join the staff of the secretary of state.

Speechwriting Duties and Procedures

As administrative assistant to the secretary of state, McNeely has the primary duty of preparing the eight 1,500-word, ten-minute speeches the secretary of state delivers monthly to various organizations throughout the state. McNeely uses only one aid in the speechwriting

process, a Xeroxed form entitled "Speech Progress Report," which describes the speaking situation briefly and specifies the topic, who was assigned to conduct the research, and what publicity plans are contemplated (Appendix D). McNeely usually completes this form himself, collecting the information by telephone from the designated representative of the group to which the secretary of state is to speak. This enables McNeely to discuss the speaking situation in advance with a member of the audience.

McNeely also conducts most of the research necessary for preparing a speech, leaving only about twenty per cent to members of his staff and to other members of the staff of the secretary of state who are knowledgeable in specific fields to be covered in certain speeches. Regardless of who conducts the research, it is McNeely who prepares the final draft submitted to the secretary of state. Before it reaches the secretary of state, though, the administrative assistant for communications, Stan Tait, a top-level advisor, reviews the speech for conformity to policy.

Ideas for speech topics came from the secretary of state himself during McNeely's early days as a ghostwriter. As he matured on the job, he said,

The development of ideas for speech topics became a staff effort. Stan [Tait] and I work out ideas for each speech, assign specialists on the staff to research the facts, prepare the information in note form, and review the ideas with the Senator [Adams, so called because of his legislative service as a state senator]. Naturally, we accept his recommendations.

About half of the speeches Adams delivers are tailor made to the speaking situation. The other half consist of three or four stock speeches, which are changed from time to time to keep them current, to which Adams adds local color and references to local situations and individuals. Unlike the other members of the executive department, once Adams accepts a speech, he will read it verbatim, despite the fact that, as McNeely said, "The Senator is far more persuasive without a prepared text. He gives more of himself when he's speaking off the cuff."

Relying upon his news reporting background, McNeely writes his speeches without an outline, a system known among newsmen as "writing off the wail." This means that the format and the facts are in the mind of the writer. McNeely usually writes two drafts, the first of which he completes in about four hours. He considers the writing of the speech half completed after he writes the lead. This is because news reporters consider the lead of any piece of copy the most difficult part, the part that sets the stage for the remainder of the work. This initial draft of the speech is then reviewed in detail and edited by Tait and McNeely. McNeely then prepares the final draft about one week in advance of the speaking engagement, which he considers enough to keep the topic timely. By the time the secretary of state receives the final copy, it is in polished form, reflecting

not only Adams' ideas but also his style of delivery.

Instead of meeting with Adams to review each individual speech, McNeely, Tait, and other members of the executive staff meet with Adams periodically to review his official position on various subjects and to discuss his speaking style. These conferences are unusual in Cabinet circles.

Unlike the other Cabinet officers, Adams is the only one who requires and submits to a regular criticism of speeches and delivery. Every time Adams delivers a speech, a member of his staff who accompanies him completes a small evaluation card (Appendix E). This card lists, in addition to the date, audience, and city of the speech, a four-point continuum on each of seven questions dealing with the forcefulness of delivery, impact of message, facial expression and animation, gestures, voice and tone range, enunciation, and visual contact with the audience. The higher the number on the continuum, the higher the evaluation. On the reverse side of the card are spaces for the evaluator to respond to these two questions: "What specifically distracted you or diminished the maximum impact of the speech or its delivery?" and "What specifically impressed you about the speech or its delivery?" Then, periodically, McNeely and Tait meet with Adams and discuss the evaluations of his speeches. "He accepts these criticisms," said McNeely, "because he realizes his own speaking faults and he wants to improve."

Although Adams can, and frequently does, speak without a ghosted speech or a prepared text, McNeely said prepared texts are necessary for several reasons: (1) to control the way a subject is presented and the points are developed, (2) to ensure that everything Adams wants to say in the speech is actually said, (3) to ensure phrasing of ideas or positions that are picked up for publication by the mass news media, and (4) to validate the news releases and copies of the prepared texts that are distributed to the mass news media. Such emphasis is placed upon the mass news media--all of the Cabinet offices follow this practice--because both the Cabinet officers and their ghostwriters want as much publicity as they can receive on a public appearance or statement by their principals. McNeely spoke for all of the Cabinet ghostwriters when he said:

Although the immediate audience is the forum, actually the Senator is speaking to the entire state through the news media. He sacrifices the local audience to get his message to the entire state the way he wants it.

McNeely said he believes that about ninety per cent of the ghostwriting at the state level is unnecessary:

Most of those in state government are, or ought to be, familiar enough with their subjects that they should be able to share themselves as well as their information through their own knowledge, and not have to depend upon the crutch of a ghostwritten text. When a speech is read, there is no sharing of self with the audience. The audience wants this sharing of self as well as the entertainment and information that a speech can give.

McNeely strives to adapt the ghostwritten speech to Adams' own style of speaking and phrasing as well as to

his ideas and official position on various issues. In addition, he tries to strengthen the wording of speeches to compensate for Adams' normal monotone delivery. He studied Adams over the years, arriving at the point where he knows

. . . what he'll take and what he'll reject. After writing for him for several years, I find that he never changes my ideas, even though a lot of times I break new ground. I know my man. As a result, when I write a speech, and the Senator delivers it, you can't tell where I stop and he starts. He speaks in my style and I write in his. It's a merger of styles: his approach and my writing.

This merging of styles came about through a tailoring of each other's style over the years. McNeely said he tailored Adams

. . . by shortening his sentences and words, bringing them down to people talk. I consider the audience in the basic approach, especially in the introduction. I try to identify with the audience in interest and in intellect.

At the same time, he said, he uses Adams' own rhythm pattern, and adapts the speeches to the merger of styles. This is done also through the use of such devices as single quotation marks for a short pause, double quotation marks for a long pause, a dash for a breathing pause, and a period for the longest pause. A double dash indicates a change of inflection; and an asterisk, a change of subject.

McNeely believes that style and content of speeches go hand in hand. "The audience wants to be entertained as well as informed," he said.

Job Satisfaction

McNeely, who also became a ghostwriter because of a vacancy in the position, finds the job rewarding, and usually agrees with Adams' policies. He does not consider himself a power behind the throne, though he, too, readily admits that, in many instances, "any attitude the Senator has is what he sees on my first draft of the speech." But McNeely attributes this to his ability to predict what Adams will accept and what he will reject in the way of proposals.

McNeely has no more ethical qualms about the profession of ghostwriting than he has about any other professional advisor. He views a ghostwriter's duties as mechanical, saying:

The ghostwriter creates a product for someone else by taking his raw material and just refining it. To consider that this is unethical, to think that my phrases ought to have my name on them simply because I wrote them, is to take an egotistical attitude. The boss is buying a product or a professional service. When I have finished a ghosted speech, and the Senator delivers it, it's his. He bought it and paid for it; it's his. If he is going on record for those ideas, whether he originated them or not, they are his.

The only change McNeely would make in the ghostwriting process would be to include more personal involvement by the secretary of state in the preparation of the speech itself, to make it even more a part of him.

McNeely made no recommendations as to any specific service universities could provide the ghostwriter, largely because "the way we operate, I am more dependent upon my own professional staff."

Summary

Ed McNeely, the senior Cabinet ghostwriter in point of service, is the only ghostwriter who conducts a formal criticism of his principal's delivery of speeches (Appendix E). With seven years of experience writing for the secretary of state, McNeely knows what his principal will accept and what he will reject in the way of speech ideas and style. Like the former news reporter that he is, McNeely writes his speeches off the wall, using no outline, and directly on the typewriter. He paces his work to deliver the finished speech to the secretary of state at least one week before it is to be delivered. Adams speaks less than most Cabinet officers, delivering about eight speeches monthly. McNeely also uses a prepared speech aid form, one entitled "Speech Progress Report" (Appendix D). Before the finished copy goes to the secretary of state, McNeely confers with one of Adams' top-level advisors about the speech, reviewing it in detail. Because of this review session, McNeely writes the speech in two drafts before putting it into final form.

Although McNeely believes that Adams speaks more forcefully without a prepared text, he believes that a prepared speech is necessary (1) to control the way each subject is presented, (2) to ensure that everything Adams wants to say in the speech is actually said, (3) to ensure correct phrasing of ideas or positions that are picked up for publication by the mass news media, and (4) to validate

the news releases and copies of the prepared texts distributed to the mass news media.

McNeely, whose staff of twelve is the second largest among the Cabinet ghostwriters, wants more involvement by his principal in the speechwriting operation.

McNeely likes his job; he likes the secretary of state; and he agrees with his principal's policies more often than not: "by and large" was the way he expressed it. He became a ghostwriter like most of the Cabinet ghostwriters: because of a vacancy in the position. He had no special training for the job.

Although McNeely does not consider himself a power behind the throne, he readily admits that "any attitude the Senator has is what he sees on my first draft of the speech." This implies that McNeely does, in fact, have considerable influence with his principal.

To McNeely, ghostwriting is ethical because it is largely a mechanical process of taking the raw material provided by his principal and refining it for consumption. He believes that when Adams delivers one of McNeely's speeches, the speech is Adams' because he must take full responsibility for the content. In a sense, this is an accurate assessment of the situation between Adams and McNeely. Because of his seven years of association with Adams, McNeely has come to know how he thinks and what ideas and suggestions he will accept. Therefore, when McNeely provides Adams a ghostwritten speech, even though

it contains new ideas, McNeely views this as only giving Adams what he wants or what he has already voiced during their policy meetings.

Justification by Cabinet Officer

Secretary of State Tom Adams said:

A speechwriter is essential to any office for a lot of speechmaking. It is a whole lot easier to have a couple of fellows take my ideas and turn out a speech based upon what I want. Public officials today simply do not have the time to write their own speeches from start to finish and administer their offices.

CHAPTER IV

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

In Florida, as in most states, the attorney general is the chief legal officer for the state. He is the legal advisor to the governor and other state officials and state agencies for whom he provides unofficial interpretations of the laws. In substance, the attorney general defends the public interest. In the hierarchy of the Cabinet, he is the third ranking officer.³⁷

The attorney general is Earl Faircloth, who took office January 5, 1965, the thirtieth man to hold the post since Florida became a state in 1845. Faircloth has two ghostwriters: Bill D. Eirls, a 38-year-old former radio news reporter, and Richard B. Knight, a 33-year-old lawyer and former newspaper reporter. Eirls is the only Cabinet ghostwriter with a radio news background; and Knight is the only Cabinet ghostwriter with a legal background.

Eirls' and Knight's Background

Eirls, a native of St. Joseph, Missouri, is married and the father of a six-year-old son and a one-year-old daughter. His official title is administrative assistant,

³⁷ibid., pp. 35-36.

a position he has held five years but which is more that of a traveling companion and advisor than an office worker. He supervises one secretary. Eirls has known Faircloth seven years, having met him in Miami where Eirls was working as a news reporter for Radio Station WGBS. At the time, Faircloth was a state representative from Dade County. Eirls worked four years in New York for Radio Press International, a news service for radio stations throughout the United States, before joining the staff of WGBS where he remained four years. He received his bachelor of arts in 1959 from the University of Missouri where he majored in speech and minored in journalism. He is the only Cabinet ghostwriter to have such a specific speech education background. Eirls spent eight years in the United States Air Force, including combat service during the Korean War, rising to the non-commissioned rank of staff sergeant.

Knight, a native of West Palm Beach, is single, the only unmarried Cabinet ghostwriter. His official title is director of information, a position he has held nearly two years. As director of information, Knight supervises four administrative assistants, three secretaries, and one research assistant to help him conduct a state-wide public information program. Knight received his bachelor of business administration degree in 1959 from the University of Miami where he majored in political science and history and minored in English. He continued his education, receiving his bachelor of laws in 1962 from the University

of Miami. His military service consists of six years as airman third class in the United States Air Force Reserve in which he served in the public information section briefly, writing news releases about military activities of reserve personnel.

Before, while, and after attending the University of Miami, Knight worked one year as a broker for Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, and Smith; and nine years as a news reporter for the Miami Herald.

Speechwriting Duties and Procedures

As director of information, Knight has the primary duty of writing the half-dozen fifteen-minute speeches the attorney general delivers each month to various audiences. These speeches average 1,700 words. Knight uses only one aid in the speechwriting process, a two-paged mimeographed form entitled "Speech Background Information," which provides considerable detail about the speaking situation (Appendix F). This is the longest and most detailed of the aids used by the Cabinet ghostwriters, seeking such information about the audience as its members' interests, desires, beliefs, and attitudes toward the subject and the attorney general. One of Knight's staff completes the form, collecting the required information from a designated representative of the group to whom Faircloth will speak.

Knight, like Eirls, prefers to conduct his own research, but sometimes the press of his other duties

requires him to assign this task to members of the staff, who are then free to secure the information from any responsible source. These sources include office files, previous speeches by the attorney general, known policies of the attorney general, and members of the staff who have expertise in the topic to be covered in the speech. Regardless of who conducts the research and who compiles the facts, it is Knight who writes all of the speeches in final form, including the few that Eirls writes.

Eirls and Knight have widely different speechwriting techniques. Eirls composes his speeches in longhand, using a pencil and yellow, legal-sized, ruled paper, and following an outline developed from the facts and the speaking situation. He usually writes his speeches in one sitting, but revises them four or five times before he is satisfied. On the other hand, Knight, like most of the other Cabinet ghostwriters, composes his speeches without an outline and in one draft. "It's the easiest way," he said, "especially if it's a subject I'm very interested in." In that case, he added, the speech seems to flow. He either composes directly onto a typewriter, or he dictates to his secretary who then provides him with a rough copy for editing.

Unlike the other Cabinet officers, Faircloth has to be continually alert against the possibility of stating a legal opinion in a speech. Because he is chief legal advisor to all state agencies, the attorney general's words

are taken as guidelines for official conduct. Therefore, Faircloth must be careful not to state or imply a legal opinion unless his position has been carefully studied and prepared for dissemination. As ghostwriters, both Eirls and Knight also must guard against writing legal opinions unless such opinions are ready for announcement.

To guard against inadvertent legal opinions, Eirls and Knight review all speeches with Faircloth before completing the final draft. If legal points are involved, these are written carefully, and Faircloth meticulously reads these points verbatim to avoid misunderstanding. These legal points and some statistical matter are all that Faircloth reads from a prepared speech.

Otherwise, Faircloth's speaking ability is in marked contrast to that of the other Cabinet officers. He alone, of the seven, commits his speeches to memory, to the extent that he needs only the barest of outlines, consisting of a series of one- or two-word reminders, to be able to deliver a speech. Eirls described Faircloth's technique:

After the speech is accepted and written in final form, the General makes changes in the wording for ease of delivery, and then outlines it, picking out key words from the text. Then he studies the finished speech to commit it to memory. This way, the key-word outline calls to mind the actual wording of the speech as well as the thought. When he delivers a speech from the outline, he can almost follow the prepared text word for word even though he hasn't looked at the text since he memorized it.

Even so, Faircloth does make some changes in the wording when he delivers a speech. Because of this, Eirls,

his constant traveling companion, never delivers copies of the prepared text to the press in advance, preferring to correct a master copy of the prepared text according to delivery. Only after the corrections are made is the speech copy distributed to the news media. Other Cabinet ghost-writers distribute copies of the prepared text and leave it up to the news reporters to make whatever corrections, additions, or deletions they deem necessary.

Although Eirls and Knight write their speeches independently of each other, they do collaborate when they confer with Faircloth on the final copy. Both Eirls and Knight prepare their speeches about a week in advance of delivery to give Faircloth time to memorize and outline them.

Ideas for speeches come from the usual sources: the audience, previous speeches, the files, current news, staff members, and, of course, Faircloth himself. "Sometimes, the General tells us what he wants to say and we write it that way," said Eirls.

Both Eirls and Knight try to make their speeches reflect Faircloth's speaking style. Eirls, who has written speeches for Faircloth since the campaign for attorney general in 1964, believes he succeeds fairly well in capturing the General's speaking style. Because of his job, Eirls spends almost as much time with Faircloth as he spends with his own family, traveling throughout the state on almost every out-of-town invitation Faircloth accepts.

Knight, who has known Faircloth longer, studies his principal:

I listen to him speak in conversation almost every day. I study him and his style of speaking. I try to keep my style of speechwriting consistent and, of course, consistent with his.

The only criticism of a speech following delivery is an occasional discussion Faircloth might have with Eirls or Knight on the return trip. This usually is very informal.

Both Eirls and Knight agree that Faircloth's ability to memorize speeches makes his delivery natural, giving him a forcefulness of delivery in nearly every speaking situation. Both agree that Faircloth, like most political officeholders, does not really need a ghostwriter because of his knowledge of his office. But Knight said Faircloth needs a ghostwriter if the speech requires a great deal of research or if it uses statistics or facts not readily recallable, and because of the lack of time on Faircloth's part to research and write speeches as well as to administer his office.

Both Eirls and Knight agree that style is more important than content of a speech. Eirls said Faircloth could eliminate some of the content of a speech in certain situations, such as following a cocktail party and banquet, and do an acceptable job. Knight said good style would improve bad content, "but bad style can't do anything but hurt good content."

Job Satisfaction

Eirls likes his job as ghostwriter and traveling companion to the attorney general. Although he has a speech major at the university, Eirls did not begin writing speeches seriously until Faircloth began his campaign for attorney general in 1964. During that campaign, when he was working as a news reporter for Radio Station WGBS, Eirls worked his way into a part-time job with Faircloth, first writing radio spots for the campaign, and later writing speeches. After Faircloth won the office, he took Eirls to Tallahassee as his aide and speechwriter. His association with Faircloth has been close for a long period of time.

Knight likes his job as ghostwriter although he said, "It's not one of my favorite pursuits." He became a ghostwriter for Faircloth because he had done some ghostwriting in Miami, and because ghostwriting is part of his duties as director of information.

Both ghostwriters said they do not consider themselves a power behind the throne, but both said they do try to influence Faircloth's attitudes as would any other advisor. Said Eirls: "I must make suggestions. And I succeed to some degree." Said Knight:

I present facts and cite polls and statistics. Then I give my own opinions. I try to keep it mostly factual, but it is impossible not to inject personal beliefs and prejudices.

Both Eirls and Knight view ghostwriting as an ethical business. Eirls said that just because he writes

a speech for Faircloth, there is

. . . no guarantee that the General will use it or use even one word of it. It's not that I'm putting words into his mouth. I get more information from him than I give to him.

Knight described ghostwriting as

. . . understanding and knowing the principal's political and emotional ideas, beliefs, and opinions, and putting them into a style he can deliver. In general, the boss could do this himself, but because of his duties he has no time to perform such mechanical tasks.

Knight said Faircloth does not try to hide the fact that he relies upon a ghostwriter, "but neither does he try to publicize it. The press knows he has a ghostwriter, and they accept it."

Eirls believes universities ought to offer some sort of course in research methods and materials for the ghostwriter. Knight wants universities to establish a central idea bank or research staff that ghostwriters could utilize. Knight believes that ghostwriting is too personal and individualized to be taught. "You can teach people to write," he said, "but the effective ghostwriter must develop his own rapport with his principal."

Summary

Bill D. Eirls is the only Cabinet ghostwriter with a background in speech; and Richard B. Knight is the only Cabinet ghostwriter with a law degree. Although they compose their speeches individually, they make an effective team during the speech review sessions they conduct with

Faircloth. The only dual ghostwriting effort in the Cabinet is in the comptroller's office; but that is more of a superior-subordinate relationship. Eirls also has a unique position among Cabinet ghostwriters: he is the only ghostwriter who serves also as a traveling aide to his principal, accompanying him on nearly every out-of-town trip. Eirls and Knight have a unique charge among Cabinet ghostwriters: they must be continually on guard against writing inadvertent legal opinions in the attorney general's speeches. Because he is Florida's chief legal advisor to official state agencies, Faircloth's words may be interpreted as a legal opinion. This is the major reason Eirls and Knight review the text of every speech with their principal before delivery.

Faircloth, himself, is unique among the Cabinet officers. He, alone, commits his speeches to memory and then speaks from a key-word outline, delivering almost a verbatim reproduction. Nevertheless, because Faircloth usually does make changes from the prepared text, Eirls does not release copies to the news media until he has corrected the text after listening to the speech. None of the other Cabinet ghostwriters, and few public relations practitioners, release only accurate copies of speech texts as delivered. Most prefer to distribute the proposed speech text and let the news reporters make whatever corrections they wish.

Both Eirls and Knight said they frequently try to influence Faircloth's attitudes by making suggestions.

Both view ghostwriting as an ethical business. Eirls describes his job as that of giving the attorney general back his own information. At that, he said, there is no guarantee that a speech he writes will be used. Knight describes ghostwriting as the business of understanding his principal's political and emotional ideas, beliefs, and opinions, and the mechanical task of putting them into a style that he can deliver.

Justification by Cabinet Officer

Attorney General Earl Faircloth said:

Although I personally believe that no one can write a speech for me as well as I can write my own, during the past year, with one exception, I have never had the time to do the research and write my own speeches.

CHAPTER V

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

The comptroller is Florida's paymaster. He preaudits all claims against the state, issues (over his signature and that of the governor) all warrants to pay those claims and all salaries of state employees, records all revenue collected and spent, and supervises banks, trust companies, building and loan associations, credit unions, small loan companies, and county officers' retirement systems.³⁸

The comptroller is Fred O. "Bud" Dickinson, Jr., Florida's twenty-fifth chief fiscal officer, who entered office initially by appointment September 1, 1965, to fill a vacancy left by resignation. He was one of three Cabinet officers appointed that year by Governor Haydon Burns.

Like the attorney general, Dickinson has two ghostwriters; but unlike the attorney general's two men who work together, the comptroller's two men have an employee-employer relationship. The comptroller's ghostwriters are Vernon E. Bradford, 47-year-old veteran of twenty-four years as a news reporter and a native of Council Bluffs, Iowa; and George A. Allen, 29-year-old native of Lakeland

³⁸Ibid., pp. 39-42.

who worked two years as a news reporter for the Daytona Beach News-Journal and two years as assistant director of public information for the Florida road department. Bradford's news reporting experience includes ten years with the Tampa Times and fourteen years with the Tampa Tribune, the last four as capital bureau chief in Tallahassee.

Bradford's and Allen's Background

Bradford is married and has four children, two married sons, aged twenty-three and twenty-one, and unmarried seventeen-year-old twins: a son and a daughter. He also has a grand-daughter, making him one of the two grandfathers among the Cabinet ghostwriters. Because his father was a career officer in the United States Army, Bradford spent his early years traveling from city to city as his father went from assignment to assignment. As a result, he attended several colleges and universities, finally leaving without his degree, but lacking only a few credit hours. He spent the greatest amount of time studying at the University of Missouri where he majored in journalism and political science. He served six years in the United States Air Force, including combat service in Europe during World War II, and was mustered out with the noncommissioned rank of staff sergeant.

Allen is married and the father of two sons, aged six and three years. He received his bachelor of arts in 1963 from The Florida State University where he majored in

history and minored in government. He has no military background.

Bradford's official title is executive assistant, a position he has held for five of the twelve years he has known Dickinson. As executive assistant, he supervises his own secretarial staff of eight people and Allen's public information department of four people, the largest staff under the administration of any of the Cabinet ghostwriters. Allen's official title is director of public information.

Speechwriting Duties and Procedures

In recent months, the comptroller has reduced the frequency of his public speaking engagements from two or three each week to three or four each month, thereby reducing the speechwriting demands upon Bradford and Allen. Because of this reduction in public speaking, the comptroller makes the fewest speeches of any of the Cabinet officers. Both Bradford and Allen have specific assignments as ghostwriters; but both find their other duties far more demanding upon their time.

Dickinson likes to speak about twenty-five minutes, using either an outline or a complete text, depending upon how familiar he is with the subject matter. Allen generally provides a complete text, but Bradford provides sets of facts on three-by-five-inch cards from which Dickinson can build his speech. "There's no continuity to the facts and statistics," said Bradford, "just sets of facts. That's

all he needs." Moreover, now that Dickinson has been in office about five years, and has become more familiar with the duties of office, he does not need to read his speeches any longer; he paraphrases broadly, shying away from the written word except as a reminder of topics. During his early days in office, Bradford said,

. . . Dickinson used to read his speeches verbatim. But now that he's more familiar with the job, he doesn't need to. Not only that, but he's aware of what makes news and reacts accordingly, phrasing his statements just right.

Neither Bradford nor Allen uses any prepared speech aids, but Allen uses a detailed outline of what he thinks "ought to be covered in the speech." He said his research about the speech is based upon that outline.

Allen prepares his speeches from research into the files, previous speeches, known political positions Dickinson has taken, and interviews with members of the staff who have expertise in the speech topic. Allen, whose office is two blocks from the Capitol, finds it difficult to schedule appointments with Dickinson to discuss speech assignments. Bradford, because of his position as a top-level advisor, has Dickinson's ear almost any time he wants it:

I run him down and ask him what I need to know. Generally, I know what he feels about certain subjects, and I don't really have to interview him continually.

Bradford and Allen differ widely on methods of speech writing. Bradford, with five years seniority in the office, has a fund of knowledge in his head, and needs to conduct little formal research. What little he does is

usually farmed out to others on the staff, including Allen who works for Bradford. Allen has been a speechwriter only a short time and, therefore, must depend more on research he conducts himself.

Since Bradford writes his speeches only as a series of factual statements rather than as a complete text, he can do this quickly, depending largely upon his own broad knowledge of his principal and his subject matter. Allen, because he works from an outline to a complete text, takes considerably longer. But he, too, completes his task as quickly as possible, "to give the speech continuity, unity, and timeliness."

Ordinarily, speech topics come from the same sources as for other Cabinet officers: from the audience, the files, previous speeches, current news, and staff members. Frequently, Dickinson specifies the topic and the speech is written accordingly.

Because it is much easier for a speaker to adapt a series of factual statements than a complete prepared text to his own style of speaking, Dickinson prefers Bradford's style of speechwriting. This is evident by the fact that whether Dickinson is using one of Bradford's or one of Allen's speeches, he paraphrases broadly, putting the facts into his own words and style, even to the extent of including additional information acquired after the speech was prepared.

Both Bradford and Allen receive about the same amount of notice on a speechwriting assignment, ranging from

overnight to four or five weeks. Like most of the Cabinet ghostwriters, they wait until close to delivery time to complete their tasks, keeping the information current with the news of the day.

When Allen prepares a speech, usually two drafts and the final copy, he submits the second draft to Bradford for review. If Bradford approves it, Allen prepares the final draft for Dickinson who has the last word. Bradford's list of facts also must go to Dickinson for final review. Rarely is a speech rewritten. But changes are frequent. "When Dickinson wants a change in a speech," said Allen, speaking for every Cabinet ghostwriter, "the change is made."

Bradford, who prepares only lists of facts, makes no effort to capture Dickinson's style of delivery. Allen, who writes full speeches, does seek to capture Dickinson's style.

Regardless of their efforts, both ghostwriters agree that Dickinson speaks more forcefully without a prepared text. Both agree that he can, and often does, speak more convincingly without text or notes. "Sometimes," said Allen, "he organizes and composes his own speech in his mind while the master of ceremonies is introducing him."

Despite this ability, Bradford believes Dickinson needs a ghostwriter for several reasons: (1) to be certain that what he says is not misconstrued by the audience and by the news media, (2) for the official records of the

office "so we'll know what he's saying," and (3) mostly for the press and for posterity. Allen believes Dickinson's ghostwriters are necessary: (1) to conduct research that Dickinson cannot do for want of time, and (2) to help him formulate the phrases that sound best and that best put across what he wants to say. Bradford said that having the ideas on paper, either in full text or in a list of facts, helps Dickinson to couch those ideas in his own phraseology.

After Dickinson delivers a speech, no criticism is made by any of the staff.

Both Bradford and Allen believe Dickinson's style is superior to the content of his speeches. "You can tell this when you compare the speeches he reads with the speeches he delivers extemporaneously," said Bradford. "He has charisma," said Allen.

Job Satisfaction

Both Bradford and Allen like their ghostwriting jobs, but for different reasons. Allen views ghostwriting as part of the job of being director of information. "I get paid for it," he said. Bradford takes a different view, probably because he was hired to serve as both a speech-writer and an advisor:

You can see your own thoughts and your own views being used to sway an audience or make a point, which you can't do because of lack of articulation or lack of a forum. It is satisfying if you think you are doing some sort of good.

Bradford usually agrees with Dickinson's policies. "If you can't agree with your principal, you should get out," he said. Allen said that occasionally he has to write some things he does not really believe in. Nevertheless, he said, "Mr. Dickinson is the boss. He has to make the decisions. I write what he wants."

Allen does not believe he is a power behind the throne because of the myriad decisions Dickinson must make in the daily conduct of his office, and in which Allen is not involved. Bradford, an advisor, believes he is something of a power behind the throne, "but only to the extent that he will listen to me."

Both Bradford and Allen try continually to influence Dickinson's attitudes. Allen tries by citing facts and philosophy. Bradford said he tries because

I think that's what I'm getting paid for. I think that's my primary function. My value lies in giving him my expert opinion on how the public is going to react to his ideas, on why he needs to adopt a new attitude. Sometimes I win; sometimes I lose. Some of my ideas are good; some are bad.

Allen would like to have more time to discuss speaking situations and topics with Dickinson to help him in preparing speeches. "But he has no time for that," he conceded.- Bradford said the only changes he would make in the ghostwriting process would be to get closer to Dickinson in planning and in securing his thoughts, to make his own thoughts more complete before preparing speeches. "But because of his commitments, there just isn't enough time for this kind of discussion," he said.

Bradford views ghostwriting as an ethical business:

Mine is not a one-man show. I don't spoonfeed my ideas down my principal's throat. I try to get my ideas across when I think they're helpful. They are then his ideas when he reads them. He doesn't read my speech simply because it contains my ideas any more than when he asks his attorneys for a briefing on the law or his auditors for a report on the growth of the office. All top executives have to have people around them to hatch out their germs of ideas.

Allen also believes ghostwriting to be ethical:

A man needs to have someone to help him. A busy executive doesn't have the time to do his work and conduct research and write speeches too. The ghostwriter finds out the information and puts it into language the executive can use. Ghostwriting is a tool of communication. There are many ways to say things. If I can help with that, then the executive can do his job better.

Both Bradford and Allen have definite ideas about the service a university could perform for ghostwriters. Bradford wants a course in ghostwriting taught by instructors who "know something about my job and who have had some actual experience in ghostwriting." Allen wants universities to advise students in the basics of ghostwriting, which he described as learning other's style of writing and of doing things. If nothing else, he said, universities could advise ghostwriters of the techniques used by other ghostwriters.

Summary

Vernon E. Bradford and George A. Allen, the only two-man ghostwriting combination in the Cabinet offices other than that of the attorney general, and the only employee-employer relationship, differ widely in their methods of

operation. Bradford, leaning upon years of news writing experience and years of close work with his principal, provides him only a series of facts rather than a complete text. Allen, a relative newcomer to the ghostwriting scene, drafts an entire speech. Both men complete their work in one sitting, directly on the typewriter. Bradford prepares one set of facts; Allen prepares two drafts of his texts. Bradford's experience gives him a broad base of fact from which he draws without the need for extensive research. Allen works from a detailed outline of what he believes ought to be in the speech, even conducting his research on the basis of the outline.

Bradford administers the largest staff of any of the Cabinet ghostwriters: thirteen, including Allen who is director of information. Because Bradford is senior both in the hierarchy of the office and in knowledge of the job, all of Allen's speeches must clear through him before going to the comptroller. This is a different operation from that of the attorney general in which both Eirls and Knight approach Faircloth on an individual basis.

Allen does not consider that he exerts much influence upon the comptroller, probably because of his junior position in the hierarchy of the office and because of the fact that his office is two blocks from the comptroller's. Nevertheless, he tries to influence Dickinson by citing facts and philosophies. Bradford, an executive and top-level advisor, does consider himself somewhat a power behind the throne--"only

to the extent that he will listen to me"--saying it is part of his job to try to convince Dickinson on issues.

Ghostwriting to Bradford and Allen is an ethical business. Bradford is part of the circle of top-level advisors with whom any efficient executive surrounds himself to hatch out the germs of his ideas. As such, Bradford considers himself comparable to any other advisor. He sees nothing unethical about advising his principal either orally or in writing. Allen takes a position that most of the Cabinet ghostwriters take: that the public official does not have time to run his office and do all of the work necessary to prepare the speeches he must deliver. Allen said:

The ghostwriter finds out the information his principal wants to say and puts it into language he can use.

Justification by Cabinet Officer

Comptroller Fred O. "Bud" Dickinson, Jr., said:

Any man in public life has to have a speechwriter for three reasons: (1) to document what he says as accurate, (2) to make sure the public gets the information the official talks about by giving copies of the speech to the news media, and (3) to gauge the temperature of the various audiences before whom he will speak.

CHAPTER VI

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER

In Florida, the treasurer wears three hats: those of the state treasurer, the state insurance commissioner, and the state fire marshal. As treasurer, he is responsible for all state revenue, depositing it in such banks throughout the state as he deems appropriate; he honors all valid state warrants issued by the comptroller; and he administers the laws on premium finance companies, and municipal policemen's and firemen's pension funds. As insurance commissioner, he enforces the laws regulating the nearly 1,000 insurance companies doing business in Florida, examines and licenses insurance agents, and administers the laws on ambulance service, automobile clubs, and preneed burial insurance. As fire marshal, he investigates arson, regulates fire extinguishing systems and fire exits, and enforces the safety laws on liquefied petroleum gas.³⁹

The treasurer is Broward Williams, the seventeenth treasurer, the fifth insurance commissioner, and the second fire marshal. The duties of insurance commissioner were added in 1915; and the duties of fire marshal, in 1941. Williams was appointed to the office January 28, 1965, to

³⁹Ibid., pp. 43-46.

fill the vacancy left by the death of the previous officeholder. Williams' ghostwriter is Mrs. Melinda Manning Carr, the only woman to hold a Cabinet ghostwriting post. She is 25 years old, the youngest of the Cabinet ghostwriters, is married, and has no children.

Mrs. Carr's Background

A native of Covington, Kentucky, Mrs. Carr attended the University of Kentucky from 1962 to 1965, majoring in journalism and minoring in English and sociology. She transferred to The Florida State University where she changed her major to government, and received her bachelor of arts in 1966. She has had no military service.

Before joining the staff of the treasurer, Mrs. Carr worked as a secretary, a grade-school teacher, and, briefly, as a news reporter for the Covington (Kentucky) Post and Times-Star. She has worked for the treasurer nearly three years, two of them as ghostwriter, an assignment that grew out of her initial employment as secretary, her background in government and news reporting, and the fact that she was needed in the job.

Speechwriting Duties and Procedures

Mrs. Carr's official title is assistant director of research and information for media. Although this includes such diverse responsibilities as writing news releases, writing the semimonthly house organ, writing a weekly feature column, and performing other public relations

duties, her primary job is that of ghostwriter for the dozen or so twenty-minute speeches the treasurer delivers monthly to various audiences.

Mrs. Carr uses only one aid in writing speeches, a typewritten form (developed by the author in 1966 when he was chief ghostwriter for the treasurer). This form carries no official title, but is referred to in the office as a "fact sheet" (Appendix G). This form provides considerable detail about the speaking situation and was designed to be attached to the final copy of the speech delivered to the treasurer. This fact sheet, therefore, serves the dual purpose of providing information about the speaking situation to the ghostwriter and to the principal.

Mrs. Carr usually assigns one of the two information specialists under her supervision to complete the fact sheet, gathering the information by telephone from a representative of the group to whom the treasurer is to speak. In all, Mrs. Carr supervises two information specialists, two secretaries, and two receptionists.

She conducts about half of the research necessary for writing the speech, leaving the rest of the research to an information specialist. Regardless of who provides the facts, it is Mrs. Carr who writes the entire speech, both the initial draft and the finished draft for the treasurer.

Ideas for speech topics come from the usual various sources, including the representative of the audience, office files, previous speeches, current events, members of the staff, and the treasurer himself. When ideas originate in sources other than the treasurer, the speech is submitted to him in rough form for review. "Sometimes he accepts it, sometimes he doesn't," said Mrs. Carr. "It depends upon the individual situation."

The writing of the speech comes easily to Mrs. Carr. She composes directly on the typewriter, producing one draft only, and at secretarial speed. "I have the outline in my head," she said. The treasurer apparently is satisfied with her work, for she said:

He thinks my speeches sound just like him. He may not read them in full; but I underline in red the key points and key sentences, and he reads them and looks up and expands on them. He paraphrases frequently. He's not as comfortable reading as he is just talking. He's even more comfortable when he takes off his glasses and looks at the audience, without referring to notes or a complete text.

Unlike the other Cabinet officers, Williams delights in using plenty of statistical matter. He also uses newspaper clippings, which he holds up for the audience to see as he cites their contents, photographic transparencies, and large hand-drawn charts and figures (prepared by a staff artist under Mrs. Carr's direction), all of which are designed to provide emphasis as well as to illustrate his speeches. Occasionally, Mrs. Carr uses the office camera to produce the photographic transparencies.

Although Mrs. Carr, like other Cabinet ghostwriters, usually receives two to four weeks' notice on a speaking engagement, she usually waits until the delivery time nears before composing the speech. Like the others, she does this to keep the speech topic current, and because she does not have time to get ahead in her assignments.

After the initial draft is completed, it is submitted to the treasurer for review. He usually reads it alone, making notations of changes he wants, and returns it to her. Rarely does Mrs. Carr consult personally with the treasurer over a speech in advance of writing it. But she frequently confers with him on the completed speech.

When Williams delivers a speech, he refers to the text about half the time, deviating broadly in the opening and closing sections. After delivery, no criticism is made.

Mrs. Carr strives to adapt the ghostwritten speech to Williams' own style of speaking:

I don't use any unfamiliar words, and I follow his own speech and language patterns. I can almost hear him deliver the lines as I write them.

This is a result of her continual study of Williams' speaking and delivery, both from the platform and in conversation. What speeches she does not attend are tape recorded for her later use.

Like most political officeholders, Williams can, and frequently does, speak without a ghostwritten text.

Mrs. Carr believes he needs a ghostwriter:

. . . to keep his thoughts organized and to prevent sidetracking while he is speaking, to avoid pitfalls, to have a written record of the speeches, and to provide copies for the news reporters.

Mrs. Carr believes that Williams speaks far more forcefully and convincingly without a text, and that for him content is far more important than delivery style.

Job Satisfaction

Despite her successes in the field of ghostwriting, Mrs. Carr is not totally satisfied with the profession "because I get no credit for what I do. There's not much gratification in this kind of work." She became a ghostwriter while working as a secretary for the treasurer's chief ghostwriter. As he became overburdened with speechwriting assignments, he assigned speechwriting tasks to her. After she became proficient in the new duties, her job classification was changed from secretary to information specialist, which included speechwriting duties. "Before I came to the treasurer's office," she said, "I never had written a speech."

Mrs. Carr said she could not consider herself as a power behind the throne because "it's almost impossible to influence the Commissioner [Williams]. Sometimes I can talk him into avoiding an issue, though."

Like most of the Cabinet ghostwriters, Mrs. Carr usually agrees with her principal's policies. Occasionally, she will disagree. When that happens,

I tone down that part of the speech so I can live with myself afterwards. Actually, our opinions are not opposite. They are just stronger or weaker in the same direction. I can understand why he has various positions politically, why he has such opinions. But sometimes I just don't go along one hundred per cent.

To Mrs. Carr, ghostwriting is an ethical business.

She reasons:

It has to exist. You couldn't possibly expect the Commissioner to write his own speeches. He has too much to do. He has to consult specialists in other fields. Why not in this one? The audience doesn't care. No one is fooled. The press knows he relies upon a ghostwriter. The Commissioner even states from the podium that his speeches are ghostwritten. Once, he even identified me as his ghostwriter.

On the occasion that Williams identified Mrs. Carr as his ghostwriter, he advised his listeners that if the speech was not to their liking, they should consult Mrs. Carr because she had written it. No one ever approached her about any of his speeches, she added.

Mrs. Carr would not make any changes in the routine of ghostwriting speeches now because she is accustomed to it. Neither does she consider that university courses in ghostwriting would be of significant help to her. "They might have helped in the beginning," she said, "but now that I'm in the business, they wouldn't help."

If university courses were offered in ghostwriting, she suggested that they be offered in the evenings to attract professional ghosts who generally work by day. Even so, she added, many ghostwriters must travel a great deal in their work, and they would not be at home long enough to complete a long course. What courses are offered, she

suggested, should include the study of contemporary speeches and contemporary speechwriting. Seminars and workshops, with working ghostwriters serving as special lecturers on problems and solutions, would be helpful.

Summary

Mrs. Melinda Manning Carr is unique among the Cabinet ghostwriters. She is the youngest, the only woman, and the only former school teacher. Except for Stratton in the governor's office, she has had the least amount of news writing experience. Yet, she is as successful with her principal as the other Cabinet ghostwriters are with theirs.

Although her principal is fifth in line of seniority in the Cabinet hierarchy, he delivers by far the greatest number of speeches on a week-to-week basis. Moreover, the subject matter varies from finances to insurance to banking to arson and to safety, in addition to the myriad topics the Cabinet considers weekly. Her files bulge with facts and information on countless topics. In addition, she must work into her speeches large amounts of statistical information and varying numbers of charts and graphs.

Unlike the other Cabinet ghostwriters, she attaches the speech fact sheet to the finished draft of the speech for the treasurer to study. She conducts about half of the research necessary for her speeches, leaving the rest to her assistants. In writing a speech, she "can almost hear him deliver the lines as I write them" because she

continually studies Williams' style and pronunciation.

Of all the Cabinet ghostwriters, Mrs. Carr is the only one to want recognition for her work beyond the appreciation of her principal and her monthly salary. She receives little gratification in watching another take the credit for what she has written.

As far as she is concerned, "it's almost impossible to influence the Commissioner," but she does succeed occasionally in convincing him to avoid certain issues.

Despite her announced dissatisfaction with the business of ghostwriting, she believes it to be ethical. She reasons that public officials must consult specialists in various fields, "so why not in this one?" The other Cabinet officers generally do not admit to relying upon ghostwriters; only the treasurer and the governor have mentioned their ghostwriters from the podium. Williams even identified Mrs. Carr as his ghostwriter and singled her out of the audience as the person to see if anyone in the audience was dissatisfied with the speech. Mrs. Carr's position is that Williams is completely open on his reliance upon ghostwriting, that he is fooling no one, and that, therefore, such reliance cannot be totally unethical.

Justification by Cabinet Officer:

Treasurer Broward Williams said:

I am so busy every day that I do not have the time to conduct the research to get the facts for speeches. I must have somebody who knows my thinking and my style of speaking to get these facts and put them in the proper sequence to make it informative and interesting.

CHAPTER VII

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

The commissioner of education exercises general supervision over Florida's public education system, certifies teachers, revokes teacher certificates for cause, develops standards for education, selects textbooks, allocates funds for education, approves or disapproves county school budgets, works with the Federal Government in education matters, and provides general leadership in the field of education.⁴⁰

Floyd T. Christian is Florida's first commissioner of education, a post established January 7, 1969, by the 1968 state constitution to replace the post of superintendent of public instruction. Christian, who also was the last superintendent of public instruction, is the sixteenth person to spearhead Florida's public education system. Christian was the last of three Cabinet officers appointed by Governor Burns, assuming the office October 1, 1965, to fill a vacancy left by resignation.

Christian's ghostwriter is Al Erxleben, 49-year-old native of Savannah, Georgia. Erxleben is married and has two teen-aged sons, a married daughter, and two grandchildren, making him the only other grandfather among the Cabinet

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 47-50.

ghosts. Moreover, he is the oldest of the Cabinet ghosts. His military service consists of a brief period in the United States Army during World War II, from which he received a medical discharge.

Erxleben's Background

Erxleben completed two years of basic college work at the University of Florida before entering the field of news reporting. For a quarter of a century, he worked on several newspapers, the last of which was the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union where he worked for thirteen years, including two years as education writer. Erxleben has worked for Christian three and one half years, about a year less than he has known the commissioner.

Speechwriting Duties and Procedures

Erxleben's official title is consultant for public information, a position which requires him primarily to write the ten or twelve fifteen- to twenty-minute speeches the commissioner delivers monthly to various, but mainly education-oriented, audiences. As consultant, Erxleben works with four professional staff members, and supervises five secretaries.

He uses no aids in speechwriting, writing his only draft without an outline and directly on the typewriter. In preparing speeches, Erxleben uses three major methods, occasionally combining two or three of them:

I talk with the commissioner, take notes, and then prepare the speech specifically as the commissioner asks. Or I call upon another staff member in a specialty area to give me the meat and I'll add the potatoes and gravy. Occasionally, the staff member will give me a complete speech, but I write the final copy. Or, the commissioner will give me a memo saying simply, 'Prepare me a good speech for this occasion.' This leaves me pretty much on my own as to topic, phrasing, etc.

Even so, Erxleben studies his principal and his principal's delivery and ideas expressed in speeches and in conversation. If he cannot attend the speech, Erxleben has it tape recorded for later study. "Using this system," he said, "I know what to avoid and where the commissioner places his emphasis."

As a ghostwriter, Erxleben wants to make his writing style comparable to the commissioner's speaking style:

I don't know whether I adapted my writing style to his delivery, or he adapted his delivery to my writing style. But I do keep the sentences uncomplicated, which he likes.

This melding of styles, similar to that between the secretary of state and his ghostwriter, stems in large measure from Erxleben's continual study of his principal and his acute effort to turn out what he considers a good speech, filled with thoughtful and thought-provoking ideas.

Nevertheless, Christian not only can, but often does, speak without a ghostwritten text. "Sometimes he doesn't request a text at all," said Erxleben, "preferring to speak extemporaneously." When he speaks without a text, Christian speaks forcefully and convincingly. Erxleben believes Christian needs a ghostwriter to prevent

misunderstanding of what he says and to go on record on specific points, and because he does not have the time to prepare his own speeches.

Erxleben considers the content of Christian's speeches more important than the style. "He prefers to be understood," he said.

Like all other Cabinet ghostwriters, Erxleben receives a copy of each accepted invitation for a speech as soon as possible after the letter of acceptance is written. Using this instead of a fact sheet or other speechwriting aid, he telephones the representative of the group for details about the speaking situation and the type of audience to expect.

Ideas for speech topics come from current news, the files, previous speeches, other staff members, and from the commissioner himself. In any case, it is Erxleben alone who writes the final form of the speech that goes to the commissioner. Christian reviews the proposed speech, indicates the changes he wants made, and returns it to Erxleben for compliance. The changes Christian wants usually are in wording or they involve adding or deleting sentences or phrases. Generally, Christian accepts the speech as written initially and follows it closely. Occasionally, said Erxleben, Christian

. . . will take the highlights of a prepared speech and make up a new speech on the podium. In this case, he will be using the same ideas but different words and phrases. Quite often while delivering a speech, he will elaborate a couple of his own sentences. Because of this, he will sometimes stumble in his delivery.

Erxleben receives as much as three months' notice on a speaking engagement, though sometimes the notice is only overnight. The average is about one month. Nonetheless, when he writes a speech, he writes it with a sense of urgency because he waits until as close to delivery time as possible to give the speech currency. He tries to prepare his speech within the week of delivery. This is because Christian prefers to have his speeches topical and current. Moreover, Christian does not like stock speeches, requiring Erxleben to write a new speech for each speaking situation. Generally, Erxleben complies, but like the other Cabinet ghostwriters, he frequently excerpts from previous speeches when appropriate. An entirely new speech for every occasion is extremely difficult because of the limit to the number of topics that may be discussed. In Christian's case, this is more difficult because he likes to keep his speeches related to education. Erxleben described his speechwriting technique:

I generally crank out the speech as quickly as possible. But a good speech deserves deep and penetrating thought to make sure the ideas hang together and are in logical sequence. Sometimes at home I dream up new phrases and ideas. I don't like to do a hack job on a speech; I like the thoughtful, the thought-provoking, the factual approach, not the philosophical approach.

After the speech is delivered to the commissioner, Erxleben usually advises him about what it contains "if I feel there might be something he should be aware of." To make certain the speech does not contain any hidden items, Erxleben contacts education officials in the area where the speech is to be delivered:

. . . to learn of possible controversies, problems, etc. The last thing I want to do is get him [Christian] to take a position that is unpopular with the people of the area on a local issue.

Job Satisfaction

Erxleben generally agrees with Christian's policies:

Sometimes I don't. But in general I have to think pretty much as he does. I wouldn't have accepted the job if he and I didn't think pretty much the same.

He likes his job. He is a professional, and a perfectionist. But he became a ghostwriter in the same manner as did most of the other Cabinet ghostwriters: "the boss just handed me the task; I never was a speech-writer before." Erxleben would like to be relieved of his other duties to be able to devote more time to writing speeches. He reasons:

I put words on paper as the commissioner wants them. I don't consider myself a hack because I attempt to turn out good work. I pride myself on turning out a good job. In some ways this job is far more demanding than my old newspaper job. In working for a public figure, I have to be careful not to get him out on a limb, or embarrass him or hurt him in any way.

: To protect the commissioner, Erxleben sometimes avoids putting into a speech ideas that would take too many words to explain or that could open another subject that might not be worth the additional time and effort to explain in that particular speech.

Although Erxleben does not try to force the commissioner to adopt any particular position, he does try to modify the commissioner's position on some issues:

I talk with him to make him aware of some things he may not be aware of. I advise him, not so much to make him avoid issues, but to keep him informed so he can make the right ision.

Erxleben views the business of ghostwriting as ethical, a legitimate job. He reasons:

For a public official to keep up with everything he is involved with--no one man can do that-- certain responsibilities have to be assigned. Speechwriters are as legitimate as any staff member who counsels with the commissioner on the proper time to sell capital outlay bonds [one of Christian's duties]. The speechwriter is part of a team the commissioner has gathered to assist him in carrying out his dutics and responsibilities, and to advise him on various problems.

Erxleben added that he seeks advice from experts before making his own decisions, "so why shouldn't the commissioner?"

Erxleben believes universities could be of service to ghostwriters by (1) providing a short course in speech-writing because "many speechwriters have had no training in the job," and (2) providing research services.

Summary

Al Erxleben, the oldest of the Cabinet ghostwriters, is a perfectionist. He is not content with merely writing speeches for his principal, he keeps his work continually in mind, dreaming up new phrases and better ways of presenting information, even after he goes home for the evening. He doesn't like to do a hack job on a speech, even though he composes them as quickly as possible. Hence, the additional thought he gives each speech, and the pride he has in each.

Erxleben is one of two Cabinet ghostwriters without a college degree--Bradford of the comptroller's office is

only other--but he more than makes up for his lack of formal education with a quarter of a century of experience as a news reporter. Interestingly Bradford has twenty-four years experience as a news reporter. Both men are grandfathers, and they are the two oldest Cabinet ghostwriters.

Like the other Cabinet ghostwriters, Erxleben writes his speeches without an outline and directly on the typewriter. He confers with his principal after composing the speech but the commissioner more often than not accepts Erxleben's work. This is due largely to the fact that Erxleben studies the commissioner continually, making certain that his writing style matches Christian's speaking style. As a result, Erxleben's writing style and Christian's speaking style have merged like those of the secretary of state and his ghostwriter. Erxleben believes the content of Christian's speeches is more important than the delivery because the commissioner prefers to be understood rather than entertaining.

Erxleben tries to modify the commissioner's attitudes on some issues, to make him aware of things, to advise him "not so much to make him avoid issues, but to keep him informed so he can make the right decision."

To Erxleben, ghostwriting is ethical and legitimate, both because the public official does not have the time to write his own speeches, and because the ghostwriter is part of a team the public official gathers around him to help him carry out the duties of his office.

Justification by Cabinet Officer

Commissioner of Education Floyd T. Christian said:

It would be impossible for me to do all the work I have to do and write speeches too. There isn't that much time. I cannot do both regularly. Occasionally, I do write a speech in full; but this is extremely rare. I never call for a prepared text for a speech of welcome to any group. I've done that so many times I don't need a prepared text.

CHAPTER VIII

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE

The commissioner of agriculture supervises all matters pertaining to agriculture: providing leadership, administering laws for the health and welfare of consumers of farm and related products, inspecting fertilizers, feeds, seeds, petroleum products, frozen desserts, pesticides, fruits, vegetables, and milk products, and disseminating agricultural information.⁴¹

The commissioner of agriculture is Doyle Conner, the seventh to hold the post. Conner won his office in a state-wide election in 1960 and first assumed his duties January 3, 1961, following legislative service as a representative from Bradford County. He was speaker of the house in 1957, the youngest to hold the post in Florida history.⁴²

Conner's ghostwriter is John Hayes, a 28-year-old native of Niagara Falls, New York, who was reared in Fort Lauderdale. He is married and the father of two young

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 51-54.

⁴²Ibid., p. 51.

children, a boy, four, and a girl, one. Hayes, who supervises one secretary, has the official title of assistant to the commissioner, a job he has held only four months.

Hayes' Background

Before his appointment as ghostwriter for Conner, Hayes served as one of several members of the public information department staff who occasionally wrote speeches. He became the sole ghostwriter following the resignation of the chief ghostwriter when Conner decided to restrict the speechwriting duties to a single staff member for continuity.

Hayes, who has no military service, received his bachelor of science degree in 1963 from the University of Florida where he majored in broadcasting and minored in political science. Following graduation, he joined the staff of Miami Television Station WTVJ and was assigned almost immediately to the one-man Tallahassee office as bureau chief and capital correspondent, an assignment he held for four years. Hayes is the only Cabinet ghostwriter with a background in television news reporting.

Speechwriting Duties and Procedures

As assistant to the commissioner, Hayes has the sole responsibility for writing all of the dozen or so fifteen- to twenty-minute speeches Conner delivers monthly to various, but mainly agriculture-oriented, audiences throughout the state. The only speechwriting aids Hayes uses are a skeleton outline of the subject matter of each speech, and

the fact sheet developed by the treasurer's office (Appendix G). Hayes composes directly on the typewriter, drawing from his research notes and his knowledge of what the commissioner wants in a speech, and following in general the sketchy outline he developed.

Hayes conducts his own research, including searching the files and interviewing either the commissioner or one of his many specialist staff members for speech ideas. Occasionally, Hayes will farm out a speech to a staff member with expertise in a particular topic. But even though the specialist provides a complete speech, Hayes rewrites it to conform to Conner's own speaking style.

Although each speech is tailored to the particular speaking situation and audience, Hayes tends to carry over information from speech to speech. Like the other Cabinet ghostwriters, Hayes receives notice of speechwriting assignments from overnight to several weeks in advance. The average is two weeks. And like the other Cabinet ghosts, Hayes waits until the delivery time nears before sitting to his typewriter. He, too, wants a speech with a current theme. In general, Hayes writes one rough draft of each speech, and he edits it. Then he prepares a good copy and submits it to the commissioner for consideration. More often than not, Conner accepts this draft. Occasionally, though, on a speech of major importance, Hayes confers with Conner over specific points before preparing the final draft.

Using the fact sheet, Hayes tries to analyze the audience so he can adapt the speech to its particular needs. Nevertheless, his major aim is to adapt the speech to Conner. "I use only words he uses in conversation, words with which he is familiar," said Hayes.

Then, unlike any of the other Cabinet ghostwriters, Hayes reads the completed speech aloud to himself "to determine the effect upon the ear. I must hear it to determine the effect." This apparently stems from his experience in writing news for television. He believes he succeeds fairly well in capturing Conner's style. "I ask other staff members for criticism of my speeches," he said, "They tell me they like them." More importantly, Conner likes them. But regardless of how much he likes a speech, Conner paraphrases frequently, using the text as a guide to keep his thoughts in order. "When he comes to a point he really wants to put across, though," Hayes said, "he sticks to the text for that." To Hayes, Conner speaks forcefully no matter how he handles the speech text. "If he's interested in the topic, he's even more forceful," he added.

Hayes is one of the few Cabinet ghostwriters who criticizes his principal's speaking. He does this through a discussion with Conner, emphasizing audience reaction. Hayes goes one step further, criticizing his own speeches by listening to the delivery and making notes. He combines this self criticism with the discussion with the commissioner in an effort to strengthen the composition of succeeding speeches.

Hayes has different ideas about the roles of content and delivery in speeches. He believes that the content of a speech suffers without a good style, an entertaining style:

A speech is very much like music. It builds up. It has high points and low points. It has to build up to keep the audience interested.

Job Satisfaction

Hayes' views about his job as ghostwriter are similar to those of Bradford of the comptroller's office and different from the other Cabinet ghostwriters:

This job is more enjoyable than I thought. I can express some of my views through the commissioner. It gives me an inner satisfaction. I like to think I am helping make Florida a better place to live.

Like most of the Cabinet ghostwriters, Hayes joined their ranks almost by chance:

The commissioner thought I had the expertise and the background to do the job, so I was assigned to it. He saw the need for a continuous line of thought and speech style. I was mighty pleased when he picked me.

Like some of the Cabinet ghostwriters, Hayes considers himself an advisor to the commissioner, seeking to influence Conner's attitudes by explaining

. . . on the basis of knowledge what the public is concerned with and what would be good for him to say. But Conner is the final judge. That's as it should be.

Hayes usually agrees with Conner's policies: "He's the boss. I serve him. I do what he wants." Nor would he make any changes in the ghostwriting situation in his office. "I am pretty free to do what I want," he said.

Hayes considers ghostwriting an ethical business:

Speakers, especially political speakers, don't have time to write their own speeches. They have too many other things to do. I would rather have a public official do his job and not spend his time writing speeches. Ghostwriting is part of political life.

Hayes suggested that universities make available to ghostwriters such research information that they need from time to time. "We need a bank of facts," he suggested.

Summary

John Hayes, the only Cabinet ghostwriter with television news reporting experience, is the only Cabinet ghost who reads every completed speech aloud to himself "to determine the effect upon the ear. I must hear it to determine the effect." This unique method apparently is highly successful for he says Conner accepts the vast majority of his speeches without modification. Another reason for his success is the fact that he studies Conner continually, and strives to adapt all his speeches to Conner's style of delivery. "I use only words he uses in conversation, words with which he is familiar," said Hayes.

Hayes is fortunate in that his principal speaks forcefully regardless of whether he reads from a text, speaks extemporaneously, or uses a text as a guide. "If he's interested in the topic," said Hayes, "he's even more forceful."

Although Hayes criticizes Conner's speeches through audience reaction, he criticizes himself even more rigidly

through the same medium. Then, he combines these two criticisms in an effort to improve the composition of succeeding speeches.

Hayes enjoys his job as ghostwriter for a Cabinet officer, particularly the freedom of expression of ideas that his principal allows him. "I can express some of my own views through the commissioner," he said. "It gives me an inner satisfaction. . . . [of] helping make Florida a better place to live." He considers himself an advisor who suggests possible public reaction to Conner's proposals.

To Hayes, ghostwriting is ethical if only to free the public official from the task of speechwriting so he can carry out the duties of his office. He would rather have the public official do his job and leave the speechwriting to others. "Ghostwriting is part of political life," he said.

Justification by Cabinet Officer

Commissioner of Agriculture Doyle Conner said:

I would not have the time to prepare the many technical papers called for, to do all the research, write all the letters and make all the phone calls necessary. I could spend two or three days a week on such matters. The public expects facts in a speech. The public is entitled to know. They are not interested in guesswork on my part. I must be accurate and current.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the Florida Cabinet, the "average" ghostwriter is a 35-year-old married male with two children, a bachelor's degree in either government or journalism, and more than eight years' experience as a news reporter. He has been a Cabinet ghostwriter more than three years and has known his principal twice that long (Table 1). He became a ghostwriter almost by chance, discovering after having accepted a job involving public relations or public information that speechwriting was one of the duties.

The "average" Cabinet ghostwriter conducts his own research, writes his speeches in full, using no outline, completing the task in two drafts as rapidly as possible, usually in about four hours, and submits his finished work directly to his principal for consideration (Table 2). Generally, the speech is accepted with minor changes in wording and arrangement. Criticism of the speech following delivery is either sketchy and informal, or nonexistent (Table 3).

Six of the Cabinet ghostwriters have developed some sort of fact sheet about the speaking situation to help

them prepare speeches (Table 2). The others use the speaking invitation correspondence for the same purpose.

The "average" Cabinet ghostwriter receives overnight to thirty days notice on speechwriting assignments. The average is two weeks. Every Cabinet ghostwriter said he occasionally receives overnight notice for even major speaking engagements (Table 2). They all reported success in producing acceptable speeches on time.

Ideas for speech topics generally come from the principal or from his top-level advisors, of whom the ghostwriter is one. When ideas come from someone other than the principal, those ideas always are consistent with current policy. Ideas that are found in the files or in previous speeches are, of course, current policy. Although this emphasis upon current policy is maintained, it does not mean that the ideas are necessarily bland. On the contrary, many speech ideas are controversial.

Every Cabinet ghostwriter, except George A. Allen, office of the comptroller, has a close working relationship with his principal, having access to him almost whenever it is necessary. In Allen's situation, since he is lower in the office hierarchy, actually working for the chief ghostwriter, and his office is two blocks away, he does not have access to his principal as readily as do the other Cabinet ghosts. Nevertheless, he does have ready access to Bradford, his immediate superior, to whom he must submit his completed speeches for consideration.

The "average" route of a ghostwritten speech from acceptance of the invitation to delivery is rather uncomplicated and direct. When the principal's secretary writes a letter accepting an invitation to speak, she sends a copy of the correspondence to the ghostwriter. This occurs about thirty days in advance of the speaking date. The ghostwriter, or an assistant, contacts the official representative of the group by telephone, securing information to complete a fact sheet describing the speaking situation. After the fact sheet is completed, the ghostwriter confers with either his principal or his principal and other top-level advisors on an appropriate topic for the speech. Selection of the topic comes either from agreement among the group or directly from the principal. As soon as the topic is determined, the ghostwriter, or an assistant, researches the background to provide facts from which the speech is composed.

About one week before delivery date, the ghostwriter collects the research material and the fact sheet and, using all of that information and his own knowledge of the topic and his principal, composes a speech directly on the typewriter, using no outline, in about four hours. This rough draft is edited by the ghostwriter and a smooth draft is prepared by a secretary for submission to the principal. The ghost and his principal confer over the speech, the principal reading it and making comments and suggestions, and the ghostwriter taking notes. Changes requested

usually are minor, mostly in wording and sentence structure. Rarely is a speech rejected in full.

After the requested changes are made, the ghostwriter's secretary types the speech in large type on plain white paper for use by the principal in delivery. The speech also is copied on a pica typewriter and reproduced for distribution to the news media. En route to the speaking site, the principal reads the speech once more, making additional changes with a pencil and underlining words or phrases he wishes to emphasize. When he delivers the speech, he usually makes additional changes in supporting argument based upon his conversation with members of the audience immediately in advance of the speech. Moreover, he paraphrases broadly, using the prepared text more as a guide to prevent his omitting topics he wishes to include. Rarely does he read a speech verbatim. If copies of the original speech are distributed to the news media, the news reporters present are expected to make whatever corrections necessary to make the prepared text conform to the delivered speech.

Thus, the "average" Florida Cabinet ghostwriter compares favorably with the "average" gubernatorial ghostwriter that Dr. Freshley described in his 1965 study.⁴³ Both are 35-year-old males with a bachelor's degree in journalism or government, who have known their principal four years. They receive two to six weeks' notice on speechwriting assignments and, after securing research

⁴³Freshley, "Gubernatorial Ghost Writers."

information on the speech topic from various sources in the office, write their speeches and review them with their principals. Both "average" ghostwriters believe that content and delivery are important elements of an effective speech.

The main difference between the present study and that of Dr. Freshley lies in the type of information sought by each. In addition to the information acquired in the present study, Dr. Freshley learned that the "average" gubernatorial ghostwriter believes that listening to or reading speeches is the most influential factor in his present theory of speech writing. Another difference lies in the belief by the "average" Florida Cabinet ghostwriter that government and history courses are of the greatest value to his speech writing duties, and the belief of the "average" gubernatorial ghostwriter that English courses are of the greatest value. History and government courses placed a poor second and third, respectively, among gubernatorial ghostwriters as courses of value.

Moreover, each of the Florida Cabinet ghostwriters, except John Hayes, office of the commissioner of agriculture, has duties in addition to those of writing speeches. Hayes is strictly a ghostwriter. Bill D. Eirls, office of the attorney general, serves also as a traveling companion for his principal. The others combine their ghostwriting duties with such other duties as preparing news releases, composing the office house organ, setting up news conferences,

designing brochures, and the myriad other tasks inherent in a public information office.

Conclusions

The "average" Florida Cabinet ghostwriter does not consider himself a power behind the throne, but he does try to influence his principal's attitudes on various issues by presenting facts and personal opinions (Table 3). He is successful only to the extent that his principal wishes to heed his suggestions.

The only changes the "average" Cabinet ghostwriter would make in the ghostwriting process are to eliminate some of his other duties which take time from ghostwriting, to involve his principal more in the development of the speeches, and to secure, somehow, more time and more help (Table 3).

Most of the Cabinet ghostwriters consider their profession as basically a mechanical process, comparing it to that of a secretary's taking dictation. Richard B. Knight, office of the attorney general, expressed the view nicely, saying:

All the ghostwriter does is understand these things [the principal's political and emotional ideas, beliefs, and opinions] and put them into a style he can deliver.

Al Frxleben, office of the commissioner of education, Allen and Vernon E. Bradford, office of the comptroller, and Mrs. Melinda Manning Carr, office of the treasurer, agree that ghostwriting is just another advisory position, that

the only difference between a ghostwriter and other advisors is that the ghostwriter puts his advice in the form of a speech, thereby advising his principal not only on subject matter but also on delivery.

Each of the Cabinet ghostwriters believes his principal can speak forcefully and convincingly without a prepared text, that, in fact, he speaks even more convincingly without a prepared text. Yet, each agrees that his principal needs a ghostwriter for several reasons: (1) to keep an official record of what is being said, (2) to avoid misunderstanding by the listener and especially the news reporter, (3) to provide copies for the news media, (4) to keep the speaker's thoughts organized, and (5) to serve as a guide in delivery.

Each of the Cabinet ghostwriters agrees that his principal must make public speeches frequently to keep his name and his programs before the public, to explain his position on various current issues, and to provide an account of his stewardship of the people's office he holds. Since the ghost considers these speeches a secondary part of his principal's official duties, the ghost would rather see the principal use his time to administer the office and leave the speech writing to others.

Each of the Cabinet ghostwriters is convinced that the people of Florida are aware that the Cabinet officials do not have the time to prepare their own speeches, and that they rely upon ghostwriters. Both the governor and the

treasurer have acknowledged from the podium on occasion that they rely upon ghostwriters. The other Cabinet officers do not publicize their reliance upon ghostwriters, but they do not deny having someone else write their speeches.

Each of the Cabinet ghostwriters believes he receives far more ideas for speeches from his principal than he initiates. Each of them studies his principal to ascertain style of speaking, pronunciation, use of words and phrases, and thought processes to help him compose speeches that reflect his principal realistically. Only Ed McNeely, office of the secretary of state, and Erxleben said their writing styles and their principals' speaking styles merged into a third style. The other Cabinet ghostwriters say they try to adapt their writing styles to their principals' speaking styles. None of the ghostwriters deliberately use words or phrases that their principals find uncomfortable. If such words are included in a speech, it is inadvertent.

Seven of the nine Cabinet ghostwriters like their jobs without qualification. The other two, Mrs. Carr and Knight, like their work, but they have reservations. Mrs. Carr is not totally satisfied with the profession of writing for another. "There's not much gratification in this kind of work," she said. "I get no credit for what I do." Knight said ghostwriting is not one of his favorite pursuits.

Most of the Cabinet ghostwriters have definite ideas on how universities could be of service to the profession. Collectively, they believe universities should provide ghostwriters: (1) seminars, (2) access to the library, (3) research service, (4) a fact or idea bank, and (5) courses in speech writing and ghostwriting techniques and research methods and materials. Mrs. Carr suggested that courses be offered during the evenings to permit professional ghostwriters, who work by day, to take advantage of them (Table 4). But she, like the other Cabinet ghostwriters, would not enroll in such courses, saying it is too late for that now, that she has learned her profession by working at it.

As for the other services a university could provide, universities in general (and The Florida State University in particular) provide ready access to their libraries. Moreover, their faculties, most of them expert in their fields, usually are more than willing to help such professionals as the Cabinet ghostwriters in the course of their duties.

Therefore, in light of the above, it is obvious that the Florida State University department of speech probably cannot provide any useful service to practicing ghostwriters, certainly not at the Cabinet level of Florida government. Nevertheless, the department of speech should give serious consideration to establishing a course in the principles and practices of ghostwriting, designed to

attract the practicing ghostwriter but aimed expressly toward the prospective ghostwriter.

Such a course added to the present speech curriculum could provide a new route into the profession of ghostwriting, by-passing the present "average" route through the profession of journalism.

With such a program, The Florida State University could lead rhetorical critics into modern acceptance of this ancient profession, a profession that originated as a service to the people, and continues to perform such a function.

The Cabinet officers recognize their reliance upon ghostwriters, saying it is largely through the efforts of this group that they can deliver the many public addresses for which they are continually called upon. They recognize that the ghostwriter is essential in the daily operation of government, freeing the Cabinet officer from the time-consuming requirements of speech writing, and enabling him to devote more time to matters directly affecting the people.

TABLE 1.--Ghostwriters' Demographic Background

Ghost-writer	Age	Sex	Married	Children	Education	News Ex-perience	Military	Years On Job	Years Knew Boss
Allen	29	M	Yes	2 boys	BA	2 years newspaper	0	2	2
Bradford	47	M	Yes	3 boys 1 girl	3½ years college	24 years newspaper	6 yrs WW2 USAF SSGT	5	12
Carr	25	F	Yes	0	BA	½ year newspaper	0	2½	2½
Eirls	38	M	Yes	1 boy 1 girl	BA	8 years radio	8 yrs KW USAF SSGT	5	7
Erxleben	49	M	Yes	2 boys 1 girl	2 years	25 years newspaper	½ yr WW2 USA	3½	4½
Hayes	28	M	Yes	1 boy 1 girl	BS	4 years TV news	0	4	6
Knight	33	M	No	0	BBA LLB	9 years newspaper	6 years USAFR A3C	1½	15
McNeely	38	M	Yes	3 boys	BS	4 years newspaper	6 yrs KW USMC SSGT	7	7
Stratton	34	M	Yes	2 boys	BSBA	None (Ins.)	6 years USMCR SGT	1½	4

TABLE 2.--Ghostwriters' Speechwriting Procedures

Ghost-writer	No. Days Notice	Conducts Research	Writes Speech	Outline	Aids	No. of Drafts	Reads Aloud	Edits
Allen	1-30	Allen	Allen	In Detail	None	2	No	Bradford
Bradford	1-45	Bradford	Bradford	No	None	1	No	Compt.
Carr	1-30	Carr $\frac{1}{2}$ Staff $\frac{1}{2}$	Carr	No	Fact Sheet	1	No	Treas.
Eirls	1-30	Eirls	Eirls	Sketchy	Fact Sheet	4-5	No	Atty. Gen.
Erxleben	1-90	Erxleben	Erxleben	No	None	1	No	Comm. of Education
Hayes	1-60	Hayes	Hayes	Skeleton	Fact Sheet	1	Yes	Comm. of Agri.
Knight	1-30	Staff	Knight	No	Fact Sheet	1-2	No	Atty. Gen.
McNeely	14-60	McNeely	McNeely	No	Fact Sheet	2	No	Adminis. Assistant
Stratton	1-30	Staff	Stratton	No	Fact Sheet	1-2	No	Governor

TABLE 3.--Ghostwriters' Influence

Ghostwriter	Speech Criticism	Influence Over Boss	Desired Changes
Allen	None	Using Facts, Philosophy	More Boss Involvement
Bradford	None	Part of Job	More Boss Involvement
Carr	None	None	None
Eirls	Occasionally, Informally	Through Suggestions	None
Erxleben	None	Seeks to Mitigate	More Time
Hayes	Informally	Explains Pub- lic Opinion	None
Knight	Occasionally, Informally	Using Facts, Opinions	None
McNeely	Formal Evaluation	Using Speech Facts	More Boss Involvement
Stratton	Seldom, Informally	Part of Job	More Staff Assistance

TABLE 4.--Ghostwriters' undergraduate areas of study and their recommendations for academic assistance and courses offered to ghostwriters and prospective ghostwriters

Ghost-writer	<u>Undergraduate</u>		Academic Assistance	Recommended Courses
	Major	Minor		
Allen	History	Government	Seminars on Ghostwriting	Speechwriting Techniques
Bradford	Journalism	Government	Access to Library	Ghostwriting Techniques
Carr	Government	English	Seminars, Workshops;	Contemporary Speech in
	Journalism	Sociology	Current Problem Solutions	Evenings
Eirls	Speech	Journalism	Access to Library	Research Methods and Materials
Erxleben	None	None	Research Service	Short Courses in Speechwriting
Hayes	Journalism	Government	Fact Bank	None
Knight	Law	English	Research Service,	None
	Gov't/History		Idea Bank	
McNeely	English	Soc. Science Journalism	None	None
Stratton	Business	Literature	Undecided	None

CHAPTER X

EPILOGUE

My research into the speechwriting operations of ghostwriters in the Florida Cabinet grew out of a combination of three careers in one lifetime: fourteen years as a governmental news reporter for The Associated Press, four years as chief ghostwriter for Florida Treasurer Broward Williams, and two years of studying and teaching in the department of speech at The Florida State University. These three facets of the same general discipline of communication gave me a perspective unique in the field of public address: (1) from reporting speeches of all descriptions for the daily AP news report, (2) from writing speeches of all descriptions for delivery by a major state official, and (3) from the standpoint of the rhetorical critic.

During my years with the AP, I was exposed to the demands of the news reporter for speech content; during my years with the treasurer, I was exposed to the difficulties of writing speeches; and during my years of study and teaching, I was exposed to the concern of the rhetorical critic about how speeches should be studied as forces in the fabric of society.

The news reporter is concerned more with the content of the speech and the fact that the speaker accepts full responsibility for the content regardless of who writes the speech.

The ghostwriter is concerned more with the ideas themselves than with their origin, knowing that the speaker accepts full responsibility for the content regardless of who writes the speech. Moreover, ideas for speech topics generally originate with the public official. In addition, the ghostwriter is concerned with imitating successfully, in writing, his principal's speaking style.

The student of rhetorical criticism is concerned with the speech writer as well as the speaker, the audience, and the speaking situation, knowing that the speech is an interaction among the speaker, his audience, and the occasion. Knowledge of the background of the speech writer, as well as that of the speaker, is essential for proper evaluation and criticism of a speech.

This thesis resulted directly from my concern with the possible contamination of rhetorical criticism by the ghostwriter who, according to many writers on the subject of ghostwriting, may exert profound influence upon their principals.

Throughout my four-year career as chief ghostwriter for Williams, never did any of his advisors, including his ghostwriter, change his attitude on any issue directly.

Williams, a wilful person, rejected any change unless he first considered every facet of the new position to make sure the change was for his benefit, or at least not to his detriment. Sometimes, he erred.

A striking example of this penchant for making his own decisions was the afternoon he listened to his entire eleven-member advisory staff on a position he ought to take concerning a proposed program of regulating insurance rates. The occasion was to prepare a speech he would make before the state-wide association of insurance agents. Williams listened to every suggestion, asking questions and making suggestions of his own, and finally agreed to what the advisory staff recommended. As ghostwriter, I prepared the speech according to what he and the staff had agreed upon. Williams accepted the final draft of the speech, saying it had captured the subject and his speaking style properly. Yet, when he rose to speak before the agents, he left the speech in his chair and delivered an entirely different speech taking an entirely different position. Unfortunately, it was a poor position. Later, he reconsidered and adopted the initial suggestion made by the staff.

During about three-fourths of my ghostwriting career, I traveled extensively with the treasurer, thus being in a position to discuss continually his position on the myriad subjects of interest to his office. As a result, I knew not

only what he thought about nearly every subject, but also the thinking process by which he reached each position. Consequently, when I wrote a speech for him, I merely gave him his own ideas, couched in language as near to his own as possible. It did not take me long to discover that he was most convincing when he addressed his audience conversationally rather than in a formal speaking style, when he spoke from his own knowledge rather than reading from a prepared text. Despite this ability, Williams demanded a complete text for every speaking situation, declining my suggestion that I give him only sets of facts from which he could build his own speech. The few times he agreed to my suggestion resulted in more enthusiastic reception of his speeches. Actually, because of his quarter of a century of experience in the insurance and banking fields, Williams had extensive knowledge of his office. Moreover, he was capable of utilizing this knowledge in discussions and other speaking situations.

In the beginning of my ghostwriting career, I would criticize his speaking. I found myself repeating the same admonitions: he talked too rapidly, he covered too many subjects, and he would not explain technical points to a lay audience. Eventually, I ceased volunteering criticisms of speeches, limiting myself to: "The audience seemed to respond favorably," when he asked my opinion. Criticism did not produce changes in Williams.

Williams did not merely accept his reliance upon a ghostwriter. He seemed to delight in it, making frequent mention of the fact that I was the "fellow who writes my speeches." Twice, from the podium, before he began his speech, he pointed me out in the audience, identifying me by name, and said: "That's Doug Starr. He wrote this speech for me. If you like it, fine. If you don't like it, see him." Both times, the audience accepted the incident as humorous. I squirmed, not because I believed he should have hidden his reliance upon a ghostwriter, but because I believed at the time that the writer of the speech counted for little since the speaker was accepting full responsibility for the content.

Like my fellow Cabinet ghostwriters, I viewed ghostwriting as part of political life. I have not changed my opinion. The seven men who serve in Florida's Cabinet have a definite need for ghostwriters. Their daily duties are far too demanding to permit them the added luxury of being able to write their own speeches. They are far too busy administering the complex duties of their state-wide offices to be able to conduct the research and draft the reports of their administration that they make to the people in the form of speeches.

Most of the ideas found in Cabinet speeches originate in the minds of the Cabinet members themselves; they are not usually the product of the executive assistants, top-level advisors, or ghostwriters.

Florida's Cabinet officials were elected by the people to provide leadership in their offices and to direct others on courses of action for the overall benefit of the people of Florida. Just as they gather round them employees to do the routine work of any office, so do they gather ghostwriters to do the routine work of putting their ideas and their words into the form of a speech that they can deliver to the people.

In 1965, Dr. Robert T. Oliver, former ghostwriter and retired professor of speech at Pennsylvania State University, wrote that when the age of ghostwriting was ushered in during the early twentieth century, the speaker was destined to become "less the originator and the architect of policies and more their expositor and defender."⁴⁴ But this has not come to pass in Florida. Instead, the presence of the ghostwriter, and his ability to capture his principal's ideas and speaking style rapidly, has taken an enormous burden from the public official. With the ghostwriter on his staff, the Cabinet officer has time to think reflectively and to originate policies that others are directed to implement. In this way, the ghostwriter more than proves his value not only to his principal but also to the people of Florida, to society in general.

Although many rhetorical critics have voiced concern over the years about the presence of the ghostwriter and his

⁴⁴Robert T. Oliver, History of Public Speaking in America (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1965), p. 515.

contaminating effect upon the authenticity of speeches, this may not be as severe as might be supposed, at least in the Florida Cabinet. Contamination comes when another party forces his influence upon the principal, forcing his own thoughts upon the speaker by requiring him to read the prepared text. This has not been found to happen in the Florida Cabinet. Although the lack of time because of the press of his official duties does, in a sense, force the Cabinet officer to rely upon ghostwriters, the Cabinet officer is not bound to accept any suggestion or speech submitted, regardless of who submits them. Nor is he bound to follow the proposed speech. In fact, in the Cabinet, only the secretary of state reads his prepared texts verbatim. The governor, treasurer, and commissioner of education follow a large percentage of their prepared texts; but they also paraphrase broadly, adding, deleting, and changing the written speech to suit their fancies at the moment of delivery. The others generally paraphrase, using the prepared text as a guide only.

Moreover, the ideas that are presented in the ghost-written speeches must conform to the policies of the individual Cabinet officer, to common sense, to good government, and to the Cabinet officer's program for attaining re-election in the next state-wide campaign.

The ghostwriter in the Cabinet is no different from any other top-level advisor on the principal's staff. The major difference is that where the average advisor voices

his recommendations, the ghostwriter writes his in speech form. The advisor recommends ideas; the ghostwriter recommends ideas and ways of saying them.

Actually, the ghostwriter initiates fewer ideas than do the other advisors because the press of his other duties gives him precious little time for deep analytical thought, which must be conserved for speechwriting duties. Most of the time, he writes his speeches as rapidly as he can operate the typewriter, hurrying because he usually is close to the deadline, and because he has other things to do that must be done. This is not to say that the speech has not been thought out carefully because the ghostwriter usually develops the speech mentally long before sitting to the typewriter. After the speech is written, the principal reads it for content and style, consulting with the ghostwriter and suggesting changes to conform to his own thinking and style. These suggestions are orders. The changes are made.

Since the ideas contained in ghostwritten speeches are initiated for the most part by the Cabinet officer himself, and conform to his policies entirely, the Cabinet ghostwriter does not contaminate the authenticity of a Cabinet officer's speech any more than any of his other advisors.

Moreover, since the Cabinet officer usually uses the speech more as an outline, in case his mind goes blank when he steps upon the podium, than as a speech to be read, the

prepared text usually is not the speech delivered by the Cabinet officer. The only exception to this is the secretary of state who reads his speeches verbatim. But his ghostwriter, Ed McNeely, believes that he has captured Adams' speaking style so well, and that Adams has captured his writing style so well that the two styles have merged into a third style which now has become Adams' style.

In any case, whatever study of the speeches of Cabinet officers is to be made must include a study of the ghostwriters and their techniques, as well as a study of the Cabinet officers themselves. And the rhetorical critic should not be unduly disturbed by the presence of a ghostwriter. After all, every person is shaped by every other person with whom he comes into contact. What is to be studied is the end product, the speech as it is delivered, molded in the brainstorming sessions of the principal and his advisors and fired in the crucible of the speaking situation. A man's own words, as Eric Sevareid said, may be a man's own self;⁴⁵ but those words and thoughts come from myriad sources: people, books, newspapers, radio, television, graffiti, a ghostwritten speech, just about any source imaginable. If a man's own words are a man's own self, it is more what the man does with them than the words themselves. It must be, for the number of words is finite, but the variety of ways they can be juxtaposed and

⁴⁵"Guiding the Ghosts," Newsweek, February 4, 1952, p. 71.

manipulated and rearranged is infinite. Individuality lies in the manipulation of words, not in the words themselves.

The ghostwriter has been maligned through the centuries, relegated to a back room and denied his birth-right as an individual, never receiving proper credit for his work. Yet he is part of political life, an essential part! Without the ghostwriter, the political officeholder in modern society would forego either some of his administrative duties or the responsibility of advising the people of his stewardship of their office. Modern political life is far too complex for both. Without the ghostwriter, the political officeholder would say very little about what he is doing. This would result in extremely few re-elections, costing the people many excellent leaders. In today's society, officeholders are judged by what they say they do as much as by what they actually do. On the other hand, no one has ever shown that a ghostwriter's efforts alone succeed in re-electing a poor officeholder. More often than not, it is political apathy on the part of the people that permits poor officeholders to remain in or return to office.

The ghostwriter has his place, a place he has earned over more than two thousand years of dedicated and diligent work for others. The ghostwriters behind the Cabinet officers are a devoted and loyal lot, interested in good government, and dedicated to securing it.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Cabinet office: _____
2. Speech writer's name: _____
3. Birth date: _____
4. Birth place: _____
5. Sex: _____ 6. Marital Status: _____
7. Children and grandchildren (ages, sex, marital status):

8. Military background (branch of service, highest rank, years of active/reserve duty, war service, medals awarded): _____

9. Education (college, degree, and year): _____

10. Major subjects: _____

11. Minor subjects: _____

12. What academic courses of value to speechwriters have you studied, either in or out of college? _____

13. Have you ever held elective or appointive office in any branch of government? If so, list office, type, years of service: _____

14. Previous employment (job title, description, employer, length of service of each major job): _____

15. Present position (title): _____

16. Length of time held: _____
17. How long have you known your boss? _____
18. Personnel supervised (number and job titles and descriptions): _____

19. Speechwriting aids used (outline, form, etc.): _____

20. In writing a speech, do you:

Compose on the typewriter? _____

Compose with pencil and paper? _____

Dictate to secretary? _____

Dictate into recording machine? _____

21. Usual number of speeches written

Per week: _____

Per month: _____

22. Usual length of speeches

In words: _____

In delivery time: _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Is your boss able to speak without a ghosted speech?
2. Why does your boss need a ghostwriter?
3. Does your boss read from the prepared text?
4. How closely does he follow the text?
Always? Most of the time? Some of the time? Never?
5. Does he paraphrase?
Always? Most of the time? Some of the time? Never?
6. Who actually writes the speech?
7. First draft?
8. Second draft?
9. Other drafts?
10. How many drafts usually are written?
11. Before the speech is delivered (to the audience), who edits the final draft?
12. After the speech is delivered (to the audience), is it criticized?
13. If so, how is it criticized?
14. Who does the criticizing?
15. What aids are used?
16. Are speeches usually preserved?
17. How? On paper? On tape?
18. Are speeches ever used a second time?

19. A third time?
20. Repeatedly?
21. How frequently are speeches reused?
22. Are copies of ghostwritten speeches given to the press?
 Always? Most of the time? Some of the time? Never?
23. How much notice do you receive on a speech assignment?
24. How is the speech written?
25. Interview with the boss?
 Always? Most of the time? Some of the time? Never?
26. Independent research?
 Always? Most of the time? Some of the time? Never?
27. Interview with others in the office?
 Always? Most of the time? Some of the time? Never?
28. Farmed out to expert on the subject?
 Always? Most of the time? Some of the time? Never?
29. Do you conduct your own research?
30. Do you keep files on subject matter?
31. Do you keep files on speeches written?
32. Where do the ideas for speeches come from?
33. Do the speeches usually have a central idea or theme?
34. Or several ideas or themes?
35. How are ideas arranged within the speech usually?
 Chronologically? Problem-Solution?
 Topical? Scattered?

36. Do you have a systematic pattern of analysis in mind as you structure the speeches?
37. Do you usually try to tailor the speech to the audience?
38. If so, how?
39. Do you usually try to adapt the speech to the boss?
40. If so, how?
41. How well do you think you succeed?
42. Do you try to capture the boss's speaking style?
43. How?
44. How well do you think you succeed?
45. Does your boss usually tend to speak more forcefully with or without a ghosted speech?
46. Do you tend to tone down the force of a speech?
47. Why?
48. Is any effort made to offset a reduction in force?
49. By whom?
50. How?
51. After the speech is written, do you usually review it with your boss?
52. Do you usually advise your boss what lies behind the speech?
53. Do you usually advise your boss of hidden meanings within the speech?
54. Do you ever try to influence your boss's attitudes on issues, in your role as ghostwriter?
55. How?
56. Do you consider yourself a power behind the throne?
57. To what extent?
58. Do you usually agree with the policies of your boss?

59. Do you think the audience usually cares whether your boss wrote the speech himself?
60. Do you think the audience usually is concerned more with the style of the speech, or with the content of the speech?
61. What is your attitude toward ghostwriting?
62. Do you like your job?
63. How did you become a ghostwriter?
64. What changes would you make in the ghostwriting process?
65. Do you think universities in general, and The Florida State University in particular, can or should be of service to ghostwriters?
66. How?
67. What courses would you recommend?
68. Do you consider the business of ghostwriting -- in which one person takes credit for the work of another -- unethical?
69. Why or why not?

APPENDIX C

ENGAGEMENT ACCEPTANCE AND ARRANGEMENTS CHECK LIST

SECTION I (ACCEPTANCE DATA)

DATE OF ENGAGEMENT _____ CITY _____

ORGANIZATION _____

AUDIENCE SIZE _____ AUDIENCE COMPOSITION _____

TIME AND PLACE _____

DRESS _____ MEAL SERVED _____

INTRODUCTION BY _____

INVITATION EXTENDED BY _____

PER _____ DATE _____

ACCEPTED ON _____ BY _____

PER _____ DATE _____

MRS. KIRK GOING? _____ IF SO, COPY TO ELEANOR () (CHECK)

BIOGRAPHY AND PHOTO FORWARDED ON _____

INSTRUCTIONS SENT _____

SECTION II (SPEECH PREPARATION DATA,

RESEARCH ASSIGNED TO _____

ON _____ TO BE COMPLETED BY _____

SPEECH ASSIGNED TO _____

ON _____ FIRST DRAFT DUE _____

SUBMITTED TO GOVERNOR ON _____

FINAL DRAFT DUE _____ READING COPY DUE _____

PRESS COPIES PREPARED _____ SPECIAL REMARKS _____

SECTION III (ARRANGEMENTS CHECK-OFF)

SECTIONS I & II COMPLETED THIS DATE _____

EXCEPT AS FOLLOWS _____

TYPE OF AIR TRANSPORTATION _____

CONFIRMED _____ FLYING TIME _____

GROUND TRANSPORTATION _____

CONFIRMED _____ ACCOMMODATIONS ARRANGED:

HOTEL _____ # OF ROOMS _____

TO BE ADVANCED BY: _____ DATE ON SCENE _____

ADVANCE MAN CAN BE REACHED AT _____

ADVANCE MAN'S CHECK-OFF APPROVED BY _____

ON _____ AT _____

LOCAL CONTACT _____ TITLE _____

PHONE _____ TRAVELING ASSISTANT: _____

CHECK-OFF COMPLETED (Initial) _____

COMPLETED TIME SCHEDULE DONE _____

DISTRIBUTION _____ ()

SECTION IV (ENGAGEMENT FOLLOW-UP)

THANK YOU LETTERS ASSIGNED TO _____

DATE _____ COMPLETED ON _____

(INITIAL) _____

REMARKS ABOUT TRIP: _____

APPENDIX D

SPEECH PROGRESS REPORT

Date: _____

I. SPEECH PARTICULARS

Date of Speech: _____ Location: _____

Group: _____

Type Audience: _____ Size Audience: _____

II. SUBJECT OF SPEECH

Topic suggested by group: _____

Actual speech subject: _____

III. STATUS OF PREPARATION

Research assigned to: _____

Research to be completed by: _____

First draft due: _____

IV. PUBLICITY PLANS: _____

V. REMARKS: _____

APPENDIX E

MEMO FROM _____

Date of Speech _____

_____ Audience

_____ City

ITEM	1	2	3	4
1. Forcefulness of delivery				
2. Impact of message				
3. Facial expression and animation				
4. Gestures				
5. Voice and tone range				
6. Enunciation				
7. Visual contact w/audience				
TOTALS				
CUMULATIVE TOTAL				

REMARKS

What specifically distracted you or diminished the maximum impact of the speech or its delivery?

REMARKS

What specifically impressed you about the speech or its delivery?

APPENDIX F

SPEECH BACKGROUND INFORMATION

OCCASION: _____

DATE: _____ TIME OF MEETING: _____

TIME OF SPEECH (if different): _____

PLACE: _____

TOPIC: _____

TIME ALLOCATED FOR SPEECH: _____

I. ANALYSIS OF THE OCCASION

1. What is the purpose of the meeting?
2. Who is sponsoring the meeting?
3. Who will be in charge of the meeting?
4. Will it be a single meeting or part of a conference, etc.?
5. What rules or customs will prevail?
formal speech? ____ speech and discussion? ____
speech and question & answers? ____ symposium? ____
panel discussion? ____ debate? ____ other? ____
Will a meal be served? ____
Appropriate dress _____

6. What will precede and follow the speech?
7. Other major personalities on the program: (note divergent positions or opinions which may be presented)

1. General Data

- a) Approximate size _____
- b) Age _____
- c) Sex _____
- d) Major Occupation(s) represented _____

- e) Educational Level _____
- f) Membership is social, professional, political,
or religious group:

2. Knowledge of the Subject -

II. AUDIENCE ANALYSIS

1. General Data

- a) Approximate size _____
- b) Age _____
- c) Sex _____
- d) Major Occupation(s) represented _____

e) Educational Level _____

f) Membership is social, professional, political, or
religious group:

2. Knowledge of the Subject -

3. Primary Interests and Desires -

4. Fixed Attitudes and Beliefs -

5. Attitude Toward the Subject -

6. Attitude Toward the Specific Purpose of the Speaker -

7. Attitude Toward the Speaker -

8. OTHER -

APPENDIX G

Name of Group:

Officers:

Place:

Time and Date:

Kind of Meeting:

How many people expected?

Men's Attire: White Jacket, Tux, Business Suit

Wives Invited?

Women's Attire: Long Formal, Short Formal, Cocktail Dress,
Dress-up Dress

Head Table:

Name and Title of Introducer:

Subject to be Covered:

Time Allotted for Remarks:

Type Audience:

Program:

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VITA

Douglas Perret Starr was a ghostwriter himself, having served four years (1965-1969) as principal speechwriter for Florida State Treasurer Broward Williams. During that time, he associated closely with other ghostwriters in the Statehouse, studying their techniques and adapting many of them to his own use, as well as developing his own.

He became a ghostwriter after a 14-year career in news writing, mostly in political and governmental reporting for The Associated Press. Starr's AP career ranged from 1952 to 1965 and included assignments in New Orleans, Louisiana, Jackson, Mississippi, and Miami and Tallahassee, Florida. In Tallahassee, he served also as manager of the five-man AP bureau.

Starr was born November 15, 1925 in New Orleans, Louisiana. He was graduated from St. Stephen's Catholic Grammar School in 1938 and from Alcee Fortier High School in 1942. He studied at Tulane University in 1947 and 1948, and transferred to Louisiana State University where he was graduated in June, 1950 with a bachelor of arts in journalism. He received his master of arts in speech from The Florida State University in August, 1970.

Immediately before and immediately after his undergraduate college work, he served as a combat navy sonarman in the Pacific theatre of operations. His World War II service was from 1943 to 1947; and his Korean War service, 1950 and 1951.

He married the former Mildred Marguerite Emory of Maingouin, Louisiana, in 1949. They have five children: Michael (1954), David (1955), Andrew (1961), Jonathan (1964), and Patricia (1966).

Starr left the field of ghostwriting in September, 1969 to join the faculty of The Florida State University as an instructor in journalism.